July 11 1882

614 No. 26, Haines Col., Boston, Jan. 27–28, 1880.

615 No. 27, Emery, Taylor, Loomis Col., N. Y., Mar. 9–12, 1880.

616 No. 28, Searing Col., May 6–7, 1880.

617 No. 29, Searing Col., Bric-a-brac, &c., N.Y., June 17–18, 1880.

618 No. 30, Curtis Col., N. Y., June 14–16, 1880.

619 No. 31, Jenks Col., N. Y., Sept. 1–3, 1880.

620 No. 32, Haines Col., N.Y., Oct. 13–16, 1880. Illustrated.

621 No. 33, Mercer Col., N. Y., Dec. 8–10, 1880. Illustrated.

622 No. 34, Jenks Col., N.Y., Jan. 10–13, 1881. Illustrated.

623 No. 35, Hitchcock Col., N. Y., Jan. 14, 1881.

624 No. 36, Clogston Col., N.Y., April 4–7, 1881. Illustrated.

625 No. 37, Clogston Col., War Relics, Stone Implements, &c., N. Y., April 8–9, 1881.

626 No. 38, Marvin Col. Masonic Medals, June 21, 1881; thin paper, illustrated, 6 plates, two by heliotype process, and one elegantly printed in gold and colors.

627 No. 39, Jenison Col., June 21–23, 1881: illustrated.

628 No. 40, Jenison Col. Stone Relics, N.Y., June 24, 1881.

629 No. 41, Woolley Col. Stone Relics, etc., Oct. 25, 1881.

630 No. 42, Burton Col., N.Y., Oct. 26–28, 1881; illus.

631 No. 43, Ralston Library and Coins, N.Y., Oct. 31–Nov. 2, 1881.

632 No. 44, Elmira Col., Boston, Jan. 23, 24, 1882.

633 No. 45, Dohrmann Col., N.Y., March 6–11, 1882.

634 No. 46, Dietrich, Morgan Collec'n, N. Y. April 19–21, 1882, ill.

635 No. 47, Washburn Col. Boston, June 6, 7, 1882; ill.

636 No. 48, Ralston Col. Stone Age in America and Europe, N. Y. June 27, 28, 1882.

637 No. 49, Montreal Col., July 10, 11, 1882; ill., not priced.

638 C. Wyllys Betts Col., N. Y., May 21, 1864. The celebrated list of fabrications, some of which have turned up since as new discoveries.

I purchased nearly all of these pieces, and loaned them to the late Charles I. Bushnell; their return was repeatedly promised but delayed. After Mr. Bushnell's death, in an interview with a member of his family, I requested their return; subsequently, Mr. Betts, who has long been anxious to suppress them, although they do him no discredit, for they were made with no fraudulent intention, saw the individual referred to, who informed him that the pieces belonged to me, and promised to write me on the subject in Mr. B's behalf. Since then, I have vainly

endeavored, by persuasion and demand, to obtain possession of my property, and after the explicit admission quoted, the family now declare that they received no notice and were not aware that I made any claim, and I understand that my pieces were sold with Mr. Bushnell's collection. I have at any rate failed to obtain them, and I presume that they will turn up hereafter, when it is supposed they are forgotten, and a number of them will prove as interesting as some other celebrated pieces in the same collection. For instance, the Good Samaritan Shilling (see Bushnell Catalogue, No. 145.) is sadly in want of a respectable pedigree; the unsupported assertion that this piece is known to be unique for over two hundred years does not fill the bill. In Crosby's work, Mr. Bushnell was allowed to meander through several pages, talking of the Pembroke Collection; of what Folkes, Ruding and Snelling said and did; and he finally begs the question, by declaring that no motive at the remote period which he assigns to the coin could have existed for its manufacture. Mr. Bushnell had it in his power to state at least where he obtained the piece and its history so far as known: of all this he says not one word, and the piece stands to-day without a single fact in support of its authenticity. Instead of its having been known to be unique for two hundred years, I challenge any person and every person who has any interest in it, to prove that it has been in existence for even forty years, and I have no doubt if its secret history could be given, that the fact would appear that it was made within that period, and probably made in New York.

Even the claim set up for it, that it resembles the work of the period, is not fair, for there is no evidence that at that time any person in America was able to execute such a group as appears on the coin. The claim of authenticity in behalf of this piece is of much less weight than the argument that can be made in favor of the genuineness of the 1650 shillings.

Another example, No. 1254, the Washington Half Cent of 1793 is stated to be "a fabrication of the period,"—a statement wholly unsupported, if by the period is meant 1793. Those persons who commenced the study of American Numismatics several years ago, and aware that this coin is referable to the "period" when Mr. Edwin Bishop, an ingenious mechanic, kept his shop in Dutch Street, New York City.

There are many other pieces in this celebrated collection, around which a veil of mystery has long been thrown, which, if they could be illuminated by the light of truth, would have their lofty pretensions sadly lowered — notwithstanding "*Our opinion*," which throughout the catalogue is apparently regarded as the young gentleman who compiled it, as amply sufficient to settle any mooted question in American numismatics.

The writer does not object to the orthography, syntax, etc., of this remarkable catalogue — this "Sequel to Crosby's Work": he is quite willing they should spell gnaw with a *k* (No. 1344), though he prefers *g*; that that they should "ring in" the cocknevism "different to" on every possible occasion — even willing to overlook their assertion that the be-

Copy owned by Armand Champa of Ray Williamson's letter to EPN. The copy was sent to Walter Breen by Williamson.

This is a repro sent by Champa to EPN June 1991

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
Sept. 29, 1952

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o The Coin Collector's Journal
654 Madison Avenue,
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Newman:

My sincere congratulations on your two articles in the July-August issue of the above magazine:

"The 1776 Continental Currency Coinage" and

"Varieties of the Fugio Cent"

I have an abiding interest in our earliest coins and the research on the (missing) history surrounding them. Such an interest apparently identifies one as a "rare Bird"; Walter Breen and Richard Kenney are the only others known to me, and they both are being marked for copies of this letter.

Your 1776 story was particularly stimulating. It stimulated me into thinking maybe Paul Revere "FECIT." I keep a chronological file of index cards, now about a foot long, mostly on early American coinage. They yield the following; nothing conclusive, but worth further digging:

1776, July-Aug. Quote from "Life of Thomas Jefferson" by James Parton, Boston, 1874, page 193: ". . .George Wythe and John Page had devised a proper seal for Virginia; but not in all the Province, nor anywhere south of the Delaware, was there a person who had the least idea how to engrave it. 'Can you get the work done in Philadelphia?' writes Page to his old comrade, Jefferson, in this month of July. 'If you can, we must get the favor of you to have it done immediately . . . The engraver may want to know the size. This you may determine, unless Mr. Wythe should direct the dimensions. He may also be at a loss for a Virtus and Libertas, but you may refer him to Spence's Polymetis, which must be in some library in Philadelphia.' The work, however could not be done there; and the legislature was obliged to pass an act empowering the governor to issue commissions without a seal, until one could be engraved in Europe. . . . While Jefferson was going about Philadelphia in these burning summer days looking for an engraver, he was himself brooding over a design for a seal; Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and himself having been appointed a committe to devise a seal for the central power. But Congress, too, had to do without a seal for some years. The committee, by combining their ideas, achieved a most elaborate design, with the Red Sea in it, and Pharaoh, and a sword, and a pillar, and a cloud brilliant with the hidden presence of God. All of their suggestions were finally rejecte except the very best legend ever appropriated, E Pluribus Unum."

If Jefferson and Ben Franklin, running around Philadelphia ringing doorbells, couldn't find an engraver there in 1776 the chances are that there wasn't any engraver there.

1776 Dickeson's "American Numismatical Manual" (1859), page 87. M. A. Stickney thought that the Janus half-penny pattern was from dies cut by Col. Paul Revere of Boston. Also (page 88) Stickney thought Revere designed and executed the pine tree and harp Massachusetts? copper of 1776. Dickeson (page 89) thought the undated bar "cent" was engraved by John Harper of Philadelphia in 1776, possibly "in an old coach shop in Sixth street, above Chestnut," (page 131.) I would guess that Revere was doing engraving in 1776 and that Harper was not.

1779, Oct. 2. D. K. Watson's "History of American Coinage", N. Y., 1899, page 25. Quotation from a letter from B. Franklin writing from Passy near Paris, France, to (?) (Ref. Spark's Franklin, Vol. VIII p383). "There has been an intention to strike copper coin, that may not only be useful as small change, but serve other purposes . . ." He proposed a series of thrifty adages.

1781, Feb. Dickeson's Manual, page 127. "(on above date) the authorities of Massachusetts paid Col. Paul Revere, of Boston, £8 in silver, £15 of the new emission of State paper money, and £600 of the old emission, for engraving (a new State Seal)." The details of this transaction are probably to be found in Rev. Joseph Felt's "Massachusetts Currency" (1839) which I do not have.

Since Elbridge Gerry was a politician from the area where Paul Rever e lived, the chances are that they knew each other at this period. If Gerry had been looking for an engraver (or a maker of false teeth) in the Boston area, he would have been directed promptly to Revere. Any ideas?

Again, many thanks for a contribution to American numismatic literature.

Sincerely,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

P. S. for copies

I've accepted an invitation to speak before the Nov. 15 ANS meeting. Tentative subject: Early American Coinage -- Several Questions and a Few Answers. Do either of you Breen or Kenney have helpful ideas? I look on this as a rare opportunity to do a selling job, but not being a salesman by trade, I need all the help I can get. RHW

~~NOT Sent out~~
SENT OUT
10-3-54
RHW
cy to Breen

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
Nov. 4, 1952

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o Edison Brothers Stores, Inc.
315 Washington Ave.
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

This will reply to your Oct. 7 letter re your CCJ article on Continental Dollars. My proposal to attribute the die making to Paul Revere has aroused Walter Breen (Presently c/o New Netherlands, NYC) to a number of statements in favor, some of which may interest you, and are attached. Dick Kenney is understood to have dug up a New York die sinker of this period with initials EG. Kenney believes that EG must have been the diesinker, and couldn't have been Elbridge Gerry, because Gerry would have known the practice of European medallists--fecit always refers to die engravers. Breen and I concur that this proves nothing at all. There is no reason to believe that Continental Congressmen knew anything of numismatics, least of all European medallic practice.

In any case, you should feel highly honored to have aroused a little controversy. Any research-type articles I ever published seemed to have landed with a dull thud.

I have little free time, but spent a couple of hours this afternoon digging fo r authentication of the Continental Dollars as being actually sponsored by the Continental Congress. I found this under 15 December 1775:

"Draft of Report on the Powers of a Committee of Congress to Sit During Recess. The Committee appointed to consider and prepare instructions for a committee who are to sit during the recess of Congress (over Christmas) have agreed to the following resolutions: Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee that the said Committee during the Recess of Congress should be authorized and instructed ** ** . To expedite the striking monies ordered by the Congress to be struck."

J.C.C. Vol III p. 430 12/15/75

It turned out Congress did not adjourn for the holidays, so no action was taken on the report. Thomas Jefferson and As I remember Ben Franklin were members of the committee who made the above report, most of which is in TJ's handwriting.

The report is to be found in "JCC": Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, ed. W. C. Ford & others, Library of Congress, 1904-37; Vol. III, p 426-7; 430-1. This set of books, in about 24 volumes is not to be confused with the four or five Volume job of the 1820's covering the same period; I believe this is called Journal of the American Congress, and mentions the above report, but does not quote it.

YOU OF COURSE ARE FAMILIAR WITH "JCC"
RHW
10-3-54

The above report, excerpt above, also appears complete in "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson", Ed. Julian Boyd of Princeton Univ. Library (under grant from New York Times.) Five volumes of an expected 50 of this comprehensive work are out. However, they are un-indexed as yet, making location of a desired item very time-consuming. Mr. Boyd, while no numismatist, will I believe make an attempt to do justice to TJ's contributions to numismatics. He states their indexer left their employ with work incomplete.

The JCC is not well indexed. It deserves a couple of days' reading before and after the item quoted above, which I found by sheer brute force and awkwardness.

I visited the lake ~~last~~ summer of 1953. RHW 10-3-54.

I am profoundly interested in the work you are doing on the Machins Mills Mint, and look forward to its publication. I have nothing to contribute on this subject, nor does your friend Mr. Dillistin, whom I approached on the subject. Mr. Howard Kurth of Schenectady may have some unpublished information; I wrote him concerning your interest, but have as yet received no reply. It is with regret I must state I am not a collector of Colonials, mainly for the reason I simply cannot afford them.

still true 10-3-54 RHW

If by any remote coincidence you will be in New York City on Nov. 15, I'd be happy to have you visit the ANS, where I'm scheduled to speak on "Early American Coinage: Several Questions and a Few Answers." ~~An invitation is enclosed.~~

Very truly yours,

Raymond H. Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

Encl.

Excerpts from comments of Walter Breen concerning suggestion that Paul Revere FECIT the 1776 pewter dollar dies.

"There are quite a few other arguments that could be added besides his propinquity to Elbridge Gerry. The copper pattern coins of 1776, attributed also to Revere by Stickney (the so-called Janus halfpenny and Pine Tree Cent) betray a similarly inexperience ~~at diesinking as did the maker~~ hand. The engraver of these pieces had about the same degree of (in)experience at diesinking as did the maker of the pewter dollar dies. And there are other resemblances. I believe that similarities in the lettering (for example) can be demonstrated between the Pine Tree Cent of 1776 (which I examined up in the Appleton Collection in Boston (Mass. Hist. Society), but which is shown in Crosby) and the pewter dollars. IF THE SAME SIMILARITIES CAN BE SHOWN IN THE MASS. PAPER MONEY KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN REVERE'S WORK, WE HAVE A PROVED THESIS.

"A skilful portrait engraver or plate engraver such as Revere was would have been at just such a disadvantage in sinking his first dies. (RHW: Don't forget Paul was a maker of false teeth before the Revolution!)

"There is a Mint parallel to this. J. B. Longacre got the Engravership in 1844 through (1) political connections and (2) great and widely-known skill in portrait engraving. Up to 1848/9 his job was a sinecure owing to Gobrecht's improvements. All he had to do (and not always even that) was punch the dates into dies each year. In 1849 he was in very serious trouble, as he had for the first time to execute coin dies of his own design, and he was at his wit's end. Slowness of execution, too high relief, and designs ill-adapted for coins were the trouble. The result was a year's delay in issuance of the double-eagle, and a good deal of trouble with the $1 gold. . . . . .By 1854 Longacre had enough additional experience in engraving (pattern) dies to execute the $3 with complete competence. In this year reale goes for

"By 1781, similarly, Revere would have attained sufficient experience after his 1776 experimental dies to have been fully competent to execute the Mass. State Seal. The technique of engraving the intaglio upper die of a seal is very similar to that of making a coin die, and the difficulties are the same--constant & quite shallow depth, circular composition, spacing of legends. In all the 1776 dies we see trouble on exactly these scores, and this would have been surmounted with five years of experience."

RHW: The haste and urgency associated with wars also may have caused Revere to do something less than his best. By some hook or crook, the mint produced an overdate in each of the last two wars.

This old historic building, architecture of which was attributed to Robert Mills was opened in the fall of 1837 at Charlotte, N. C., as the first UNITED STATES BRANCH MINT. The MINT MUSEUM OF ART opened October 22, 1936.

Thanx for data on Morris Wiron film material. 'Roger Wilco. Have heard from Dick Johnson. His reaction is extreme enthusiasm. He promises to do anything necessary to get this into production. Says propinquity to LC, NA great help. Says alternative printer-numismatist-photographer Ken Bressett should be informed; access permanently to press. Will do any necessary bibliographical work.

Wants to hear from you, see projected format.

BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE will microfilm bks for public; verb. sap.

Best of luck--

ECONOMY PRINTING CO., CHARLOTTE, N. C.

NEW YORK 17, N.Y. MAY 12 1954

57-54

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UNITED STATES POSTAGE THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801-1809 3 CENTS 3

Ray Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, NY

From Walter Breen

Dear Ray,

11-20-56

I have just been contacted by Mr. John Willem, who is as you know doing the book on trade dollars. This is very good stuff; I have read it, given him my own criticisms, and found ten questions which require Archives search, probably January next. But he tells me that you have just done something on the Franklin Press token of 1794. May I see it? Can you use a Brill. Unc. example (my coll'n) for photography? These days I am terribly rushed between New Netherlands & trying to scrape up a living for myself prior to acceptance (Sept. 1957) at Yale Grad.School. Destination--Ph.D., then M.D. WHS is finally getting down to business on the cent book supplement. Ours truly will conduct (Jan. 1957 on indefinitely) Cent Collectors Forum column in Numismatist. Half cent book done, revised, & search now in progress for financial angel. Keep in touch.

Best as always, Walter

To Ray Williamson

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
103 IROQUOIS LANE
LIVERPOOL, NEW YORK
Oct. 3, 1954

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o Edison Brothers Stores, Inc.
315 Washington St.
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

I've never answered your letter of October 7, 1952; I prepared a reply dated Nov. 4, 1952, and am sending it along, despite some errors in it which are marked.

My file copy of a talk I gave Nov. 15, 1952 at the ANS Fall Meeting is also enclosed, because your article on the 1776 pewter dollar is discussed; this should have been forwarded to you long ago and I can only convey my regrets. Please feel free to copy anything which interests you, but be sure to return it in the stamped envelope enclosed, as it is my only copy.

Another item (not requiring return) which may interest you is a talk The "Why" of American Paper Money which I gave to the local club some time back. It put them all to sleep, so I left out large parts of it.

There is also enclosed my letter of even date to Mrs. Norweb re items in The Morris Papers which is bound to interest you, if new to you, since you are understood to be the proud possessor of one of the Nova Constellatio 100-mill silver patterns. By the way, what do you think of Julian Boyd's estimate (Vol. 7, p192, Papers of Thomas Jefferson) of the number and denomination of coins turned over to C. Thomson of value "1.8D." ? I wrote him a long letter on March 15, 1953 before he went to press with this volume, and included the following paragraphs, with which Walter Breen later concurred:

A TRULY MAGNFICENT WORK

"TJ's statement (date? Crosby, p309) that G. Morris' Mark was worth 25/36 of a dollar means 25/36 of a Spanish dollar. The statement is based on theMark containing 250 grains of pure silver and the Spanish Dollar 360 grains. (You will recall G. Morris' Unit of 1/4 grain of pure silver was supposed to be 1/1440 of the pure silver in a Spanish dollar; therefore the Spanish dollar was supposed to contain 1440/4 or 360 grains of pure silver.)

"The pure, unalloyed silver in the coins which added up to TJ's "1.8 D" ($1.80 Spanish) should weigh 1.8 times 360 grains or 648 grains. No value was attached to the copperalloy. G. Morris ~~Unitxaf~~ proposed coins were to weigh, in terms of pure silver content:

Mark 250 grains
Quint 125 grains
Cent 25 grains

"Of this pattern silver coinage, we know there have survived the following: (Weights based on nominal pure silver content; fineness was supposed to be 0.926, or 2 parts copper to 25 parts silver.)

1 Mark 250 grains
2 Quint 250 grains

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
103 IROQUOIS LANE
LIVERPOOL, NEW YORK

	250
	250
2 Cent	50 grains
	550 grains

"The remaining 100 grains (actually 98 grains to make 648 grains total) could well be four more cents."

Mrs. Norweb thinks (or did think a couple of years ago) that some one in the Boston area named Gunn may have inspired E G FECIT. Some local Gunns from Richmond Virginia haven't been able to help.

I am in receipt of a letter dated Feb. 9, 1954 from:

Mr. C. Wilson Peck
31, Vineyard Hill Road
Wimbledon Park,
London, S. W. 19, England.

The subject matter is of no particular interest to me but may be to you. If so, you may wish to correspond. Here are some of his ideas:

"I have been engaged for the past six years (in my spare time), in writing up a detailed account of the Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage of England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II.

"One of my biggest headaches was the Soho Mint, for as you are no doubt aware, many of the Soho dies passed later into wrong hands and were used extensively for restriking.

"As a consequence, the genuine Soho pieces and their restrikes have got inextricably mixed, so much so that even the 'experts', when confronted with a Soho 'pattern' often express opposite opinions, usually based on what I now believe to be quite irrelevent inferences, eg.: rust marks, filing scratches and colour, etc.
"I decided to tackle the problem on a die-basis, as I felt convinced that this alone held out any prospect of success. . . .

"I realise, of course, that a number of coins & tokens were struck at Soho and sent to America, but these are naturally outside the scope of my book."
NUTS!

My time for numismatics comes in fits and starts, so that I'm a vile correspondent. At any rate I'm current -- perhaps ahead of the game-- in your direction. Hope to hear from you again.

Very truly yours,
Raymond H. Williamson
Raymond H. Williamson

~~Mi~~
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
Oct. 3, 1954

Mrs. R. Henry Norweb, Chairman
ANS Committee on U. S. Coins
9511 Lake Shore Boulevard
Cleveland 8, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Norweb:

Yesterday (Saturday) I remained in New York City, after a Friday business trip, to view the microfilm copy of the Robert Morris Diary and the Robert Morris Papers at the Butler Library, Columbia University. Of course it is not possible to read more than a tenth of it in one day, if you take a few notes; there are 12 large reels. This is a project I've been wanting to start for many a month.

First I tackled Reel No. 8 which is Papers of Robert Morris, Official Letterbook Vol. F & G, July 28, 1783 thru Nov. 1, 1784, the end of his term as Superintendent of Finance. This was very disappointing; nothing of consequence beyond the material to be found in Julian Boyd's The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (The index does not show any letters to Jefferson, but the letters are there in chronological order.)

Then I started Reel No. 3, same letterbook, March 13, 1781 thru Sept. 29, 1781; also briefly into the following reel. About an hour before the Library closed in my face, I started to uncover a story I'd never heard before, and which I doubt has ever been published. It has an angle for the ANS Committee on U. S. Coins which I will get to eventually. It will, I believe, also interest Walter Breen and Eric Newman if they have not heard it before; they are marked for copies of this letter.

I was trying to dig up more of the story of where Benjamin Dudley came from. You will recall he was the Englishman with knowledge of coinage techniques Robert Morris hired to start the proposed mint; he actually produced the Nova Constellatio silver patterns of 1783.

Here is what I found.
July 16, 1781. Diary entry: "Wrote to Mr. Dudley at Boston inviting him hither in consequence of the Continental Agent Mr. Bradford's Letter respecting him referred to me by Congress." No such letter this date in Letterbook.

July 17, 1781. Diary entry. "Wrote Mr. Bradford respecting Mr. Dudley." No such letter this date in Letterbook.

Sept. 5, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Mr. Benjamin Dudley [Boston] "I am favored with your letter of the twentieth of August last. There are many reasons why I wish rather to see you as soon as you can conveniently come forward than at a later period. I am therefore to request that you not delay your journey longer than may be absolutely necessary."

Sept. 5, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Revd. Dr. William Gordon [Boston?] "I have received your Favor of the twenty third of August enclosing a letter from Mr. Dudley. I am much obliged by your kind and polite attention for which I pray leave to return you my Thanks. The sooner Mr. Dudley comes forward the sooner will have an opportunity or [sic] remedying the State of his Finance which now calls for that Interposition of Mr. Bradford and yourself which you have been so kind as to Promise.

"Should you come to this City as you seem to have determined It will give me a very particular Pleasure to see you and Personally to make my acknowlegements [sic] for your Favors."

Sept. 6, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Gen'l G. Washington is date lined Chester [Pennsylvania] Other letters same date, also before and after, state only "Office of Finance" (No city.) This letter starts: "As soon as I arrive at Philadelphia . . ."

Sept. 11, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Mr. Benjamin Dudley. "If you should not have left Boston before this reaches you I shall be glad that you will come with Tench Francis Esqr. who is the bearer of it and who is directed to defray your Expenses hither.

"As the Business on which I want to confer with you is important and will not admit of Delay, I hope to see you speedily."

Sept. 11, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Chevr. [Chevalier] de Langle. "The bearer of this Letter Mr. Tench Francis Has the Honor to deliver to you a Letter from Colo. Laurens relative to the Money laden on Board your Frigate for account of the United States and he has in consequence of the enclosed resolution of Congress my orders to receive it from you at such Time as shall suit your convenience. He will on the Delivery give you the necessary Receipts. . . ."

Sept. 11, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Tench Francis, Esqr. "You will proceed from hence to the Town of Boston in the State of Massachusetts Bay with all possible Expedition and on your way you will deliver the Letter enclosed to General Heath and concert with him the measures which may be necessary for the Business entrusted to your Care. Enclosed is an account of two million five hundred thousand, two hundred and twenty four Livres eighteen Sous on Board of the french Frigate la Resolue commanded by Monsr. le Chevalier de Langle, together with his receipt for that Sum also a letter from Colo. Laurens to him on the subject and an Order from me in your Favor to receive it, which you will do and give Duplicate Receipts.

"By Colo. Lauren's [sic] report to Congress it appears that Notwithstanding this money was put in double Casks yet the Carriage of it to Brest so injured them that a Part was from Necessity shifted into Boxes previous to the Embarkation as you will see by the account abovementioned. The Remainder is in a very shattered Condition wherefore

great Care and Attention must be paid to the Removal. The sum is so large that too much Time should be consumed in counting it. I therefore propose that from a thousand to two thousand Crowns be counted and weighed after which the Remainder may in like Manner be weighed and if the Scales are tolerably good this mode will determine the Amount with Accueacy. . . " There are several pages more of the most magnificent yarn you ever read. This money was important; it was the French loan which determined the success or failure of the Revolution. Morris told Francis how many oxen to buy (three span and a lead horse per wagon as I recall), what kind of wagons to buy, what kind of wagon-drivers to hire, recommended route to take (a dozen or so inland place names, mostly little towns hardly known today, so as to avoid the British), ruses to leave the wrong story at over-night stops, the type of wood and design of new tote boxes for the money, the way in which the drivers should be armed, the size of the military escort, etc, etc. By the way, reel No. 8 of 1784 showed Tench Francis still trying to get his own pay for this dangerous trip.

Sept. 11, 1781. Letterbook, Office of Finance, Robert Morris to Tench Francis; 2nd letter this date to Francis."Enclosed you have two Letters, the one for Doct. Gordon, and the other for Mr. Benjamin Dudley. I pray you to enquire at Mr. Bradfords in Boston the Means of conveying these Letters and having read be pleased to seal and send them.

"Should Mr. Dudley think proper to come on with you, you will provide him with a Horse Saddle &C and defray his expences on the Road. He will probably be useful to you in putting up the Money as he is an excellent Mechanick and may therefore strike out Hints on the Subject which would escape others. I hope you may find him a useful, agreable [sic] and entertaining Companion on the Road."

I could find no record in the short time available as to whether or not Dudley actually did accompany Francis and his precious cargo. Frank H. Stewart's History of the U. S. Mint, page 7, says Dudley arrived in Philadelphia Oct. 23, 1781; he offers no source as proof. I took no notes on Tench Francis' arrival date back in Philadelphia, but made a mental note it was two months later; there was an item on this arrival.

Nov. 10, 1781 (Sat.) Diary entry. "Ordered some money on application of Mr. Dudley to pay his expences."

Nov. 12, 1781 (Mon.) Diary entry. ~~Diary entry.~~ "Sent for Mr. Dudley to consult him respecting the quantity of alloy Silver will bear without being discouloured, he says he can put 6 drops into an ounce. Desired him to assay some Spanish Dollars and French Crowns, in order to know the quantity of pure Silver in each." (This item about the crowns and dollars takes on new significance, to me at least.)

- -

Of course, the diary entries are old stuff, but I'd like to know if any of the recipients of this letter have ever heard the Tench Francis caravan story before.

My idea to tie the ANS Committee on U. S. Coins in on this Francis yarn is to urge you as Chairman to get this story on the TV program You are there. This is a high grade weekly program, which we see here as a CBS presentation sponsored by Prudential Insurance at 6:30 PM EST Sundays. All the You are There dramatizations seem historically accurate and are non-sensational; I rarely miss them. If you concur in this idea, it is presumed that a letter addressed to the following address would be forwarded properly:

Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Att: T/Program Director
YOU ARE THERE

It could be that the Tench Francis story is an old one; I've had no chance to check, but I have determined it is not to be found in the Encyclopedia Americana nor is Tench Francis.

The TV programming people could readily do their own researching; the original of the Robert Morris Papers (Letterbooks and Diary) is in the Library of Congress; they will presumably still furnish photostats or microfilm at reasonable prices.

This writer is not generally given to great enthusiasms, but this yarn has kindled one. Does anyone go along? I'm going to get the rest of this yarn at the earliest date, unless Walter Breen decides to do it first.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond H. Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

October 8, 1954

Since writing my article on "Continental Currency Coinage" I am informed of an additional matter, in the Journals of the Continental Congress, by Mr. Raymond H. Williamson, of Liverpool, New York, as follows:

In "Journals of the Continental Congress", published by the Library of Congress, Volume 3, pages 426-7 and pages 430-1, is the following:

> December 13, 1775. On motion, resolved, that when this congress shall adjourn, it will be necessary to appoint a committee to sit during the adjournment for the purpose of superintending the treasury carrying on necessary correspondence and such other services as shall be directed by congress. Resolved that a committee of 5 be appointed to consider and prepare instructions for the committee above mentioned."

The members appointed to the committee are: Jefferson, Mr. Hooper, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay and Mr.Deane.

> December 15,1775. "The committee appointed to consider and prepare instructions for a committee who are to sit during the recess of congress have agreed to the following resolutions: Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee that the said committee, during the recess of congress, should be authorized and instructed * * * to expedite the striking monies ordered by the congress to be struck."

This is just a general authorization to do a great many things and no inference can be drawn from the language. Actually, the congress did not adjourn over Christmas and worked through the holidays.

Eric P. Newman

EDISON BROTHERS STORES, Inc.

April 2, 1956

r. Raymond H. Williamson
403 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

A few days ago I received a copy of your comments on my article on Coinage for Colonial Virginia and I want you to know how much I appreciate not only the work that went into your comments but in the challenging positions you took in discussing my article. At least I know that you understand the problems I have tackled. In this letter I am not going into the merits of your points individually because I am checking further on certain questions you have raised.

You certainly have put your finger on the most difficult portion of the research, namely, the exchange ratios and the relationship between weights of copper coins and their circulating value. I am writing an extended study on other Colonial copper coins which I will probably complete in a year or so.

I do want you to know, however, that I have spent many sleepless nights over the question of whether English halfpence were 46 or 48 to the pound. Every official British reference makes them 46 to the pound. I have weighed uncirculated specimens of every date from 1770 to 1775 and find them 46 to the pound; yet, there are references to the 48 to the pound basis in letters and calculations and I do not understand it. I met Sir John Craig last summer and asked him the same question, and he had no answer. Of course, his study was the London Mint only and if the private mints in Birmingham officially made dies for special coinage of copper for America, then this 48 to the pound might be possible but most of the Birmingham coinage (Ihave over 100 specimens of counterfeits in my collection) are light weight imitations, far below 48 to the pound, as the New York report states. I have almost come to the conclusion that the 48 to the pound was a convenient figure to use for calculation. I wish you would give me any further thoughts you have on this subject.

It is very funny that you mentioned the brass tobacco box. I have one in my home and just found another in England for a

COPY

April 2, 1956

friend. They were invented about 1830 and patented by Mr. Rich. Perhaps there are earlier ones but mine is about 12 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 5 inches high.

Again, many thanks for your efforts and I will answer your points one by one as I proceed with their review.

I certain look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

COPY

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
July 9, 1956

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

This will tardily reply to your good letter of April 30. I am absolutely fascinated with the Franklin - Bridgen data you've dug up and really appreciate the advance copy you've sent. When we meet (and I hope it will be possible soon), I'd like to discuss your methods for locating such manuscript information -- where you get the leads, the addresses, the cooperation of archivists. It has been my experience that the yield is pretty low because of the great difficulty in knowing where to write.

lucky

A few days ago I had the privilege of a brief conversation with Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Franklin-history specialist at the University of Pennsylvania, who was giving a summer-school address at the University of Syracuse; Dr. Bell is one of the editors of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, or whatever the exact title is for the comprehensive work in this area now going on. I gave him my wheeze on The Franklin Press Token of 1794, and he seemed interested in going over it; promised to write comments. I'd like your permission to send him the draft of your article, Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coinage, with a request for his comments directly to you in case he has time. He complained of items which turned up after publication of his material, and it is just possible that you might have an item he has missed.

permission ok

Right now, I'm on vacation at Big Moose Lake in the Adirondacks -- scene of The American Tragedy; I'm using some of the time to do just what I want to do -- namely catch up on my numismatic correspondence. Night before last I drove 250 miles round trip back to Syracuse to hear Julian Boyd, Editor of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, who was giving another lecture in the series at Syr Univ on The Founding Fathers. As I recall, he stated that some 17,000 Jefferson documents had been published through Vol. 12 and that only about 15 documents had turned up since publication (only one of any importance.) That seems to me an incredible batting average. Dr. Boyd gave me a nice credit line in the captions for illustrations of the Nova Constellatio Silver Patterns in his Vol. VII of TJ Papers, which contains Jefferson's Notes on Coinage, beginning on page 150. I helped only in minor respects and he did not follow my advice (or Breen's) in guessing at the quantity and denominations struck, based on his account book entry.

I have the 100 mill & also found data not accurate

With reference to Gouverneur Morris wheeze on a coinage proposal, beginning on page 198 of Vol. VII of TJ Papers and printed so widely elsewhere, I've been trying to date the document, but not very success-

fully, on the basis of GM's statement in the first paragraph: "If a fifth member were added from south-Carolina, he (not being particularly attached to the new adopted sterling of that country). . ." Thomas Cooper, The Statutes at Large of South Carolina quotes a law of March 12, 1783, (Vol. IV, p 542-3) which may be the one but is ambiguous. Another Act of Feb. 6, 1782 (V4 p508) removed the legal tender quality from all paper money; this seems more likely to be the one referred to by GM, so maybe his memo preceded by about a year his similar material in letter to William Hemsley of 30 April 1783. In any case, it seems to be ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ definitely later than Robert Morris' famous letter of Jan. 15, 1782, to Congress offering to establish a mint. I believe I've heard you identified as the owner of one of the 100-mill Nova Constellatio silver patterns, so it is natural to assume you have done some historical digging concerning them and the people associated with their creation.

Yes I am. Remember notes

I've done some low-yield digging on Benjamin Dudley, and the thought occurs to me that you may have done much more already, so why try to re-invent the wheel? Have you? I'd be glad to transcribe and cite what I have if you are interested.

Your article on the Virginia Copper Coinage is a distinct contribution. I kept no copy of your material, and hope it is published soon, so I can have the source material available. I'd be happy to review it again in an uncritical way if you wish.

Valley proofs

There is enclosed a hecto copy of Draft No. 3 of my proposed paper for the December (?) Numismatist on The Franklin Press Token of 1794. I have a marked copy with a little additional information and substantial smoothing up, and have written a dozen or so letters for more information the last few days. The paper as it finally appears may not bear too great a resemblance to the enclosed. On the other hand, discussions with Dr. Bell indicated that the blank spots in my material might have to remain. I'd be happy to hear your comments. This subject is really out of my line, but I took a cut at it on a general interest basis.

Here are some questions and comments on minor details of your excellent article on Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coinage:

Page 3. My curiosity is aroused as to who Major Fraser, Mr. Delap and R. Finlay were.

French Ambassador

Page 6. Is Edmonde Jacques Genet by any chance the Citizen Genet who came to this country as the representative of France at the time of the French Revolution? Father?

Page 10. Who (in London) is "Dr. F ?"

?

Page 12. The date of the quote about the medal would be interesting. I can't imagine what BF ratioed to get "60 p. cent Profit." The ratio of (face value minus Bridgen's selling price) to Bridgen's selling price would seem a logical definition for "profit." This ratio yields 71% and 86% respectively for Bridgen's first and second quotations.

Page 12(Cont'd) Bridgen's proposal for a 1-oz penny and a half-ounce halfpenny seem to precede Matthew Boulton's by around 18 years; very interesting. (By the way, do you suppose Benjamin* learned his mechanical lore about coinage from Bridgen? They were both sympathizers with the American cause, and Boulton certainly wasn't.) On page 12, we again find British halfpence both 46 and 48 to the lb. advp., and on the same page too! Maybe it's just as well not to get mixed up in this one. I've about come around to your conclusion that the 48 per lb. was just a matter of calculating convenience.

*Dudley

Page 13. BF's idea that the copper coins should be valued at "Aliquot parts of a Spanish dollar" could be a "first" on getting our copper coins related in some simple way to the dollar. However, the dictionary or arithmetic definition won't help much in figuring what BF meant. He at least meant that an integral number of copper coins should equal a dollar in value.

- -

A few years ago I cooked up a scheme, working with Walter Breen, of making up five copies of a Numismatic Source Book, loose-leaf, mainly in the form of a chronology, with a tab for every decade (as I recall) from 1760 to 1860; also tabs for Biography, Index, Ground Rules, and probably a couple of others. I had a batch of opaque forms (like attached sample, which need not be returned) for drafts, and a larger batch identical but transparent for obtaining prints. Presumably Breen still has two of the binders with tabs and I have three. The project has died on the vine for a couple of years with perhaps 30 pages of entries, but could be revived any time I get time to type out the stuff. I surely look forward to doing it again some time. Would you like one of my three volumes, to see what might be done and perhaps contribute some-time or even take it over if you like it and have time? I have perhaps 2000 index cards with such stuff written on them long-hand and arranged chronologically. I get some of it via 35-mm negative microfilm, and transcribe the interesting parts onto index cards. Here's a recently-acquired sample which may interest you:

Yes I'd like copy Most helpful

From double-entry bookkeeping records of the U. S. Government in the so-called Waste Books, Record Group 217, National Archives; records originally in the Register's Office of the Treasury Department, entries of Oct. 17, 1782 (some time after the events covered.)

"Tench Francis Dr to General Account of Monies received in Europe. For two millions five hundred thousand two hundred and twenty four Livres & eighteen Sols the Amount as Pr Invoice of 2083 Bags of Silver remitted by LeVaughn and LeMoine of Brest the 26 of May 1780 pursuant to the Directions of the Superintendent General of the Finances in France & which arrived at Boston in a French Frigate under the care of Colonel John Laurens and delivered to Tench Francis Esqr who gave a Receipt for the same to Monsr Chevalier DeLangle and brought it on under an Excort to Philadelphia & accounted for by him at the Treasury the 1st Inst as pr following Entry.

2,500,224 Liv 18 Sols are equal at 6 Livres pr Crown to 416,704 18/120 Crowns, in the Currency of Pennsylvania £173,626 14 7 and in Dollars to Four hundred and Sixty three thousand and four Dollars & 55/90.

a/c 2704 Sundries Dr to Tench Francis of Philadelphia/He was elected first Cashier of the Bank of North America on Nov. 1, 1781/
For Four hundred and fifty nine thousand eight hundred and four Dollars & 55/90 the Amount of Cash paid as pr following Entries which with three thousand two hundred dollars heretofore passed to his Credit make Four hundred Sixty three thousand and four Dollars & 55/90th Amount of his Account, settled at the Treasury the 1st Instant.

. . . . .

John Brown late Secretary to the Marine Committee now Assistant to the Agent of Marine.
For his Receipt dated Boston 9 October 1781 of Tench Francis for one Waggon and two Yoke of Oxen with a large Box containing Fourteen small Boxes of Specie each small Box containing Fourteen hundred and forty french Crowns also for Two hundred and forty french Crowns in the whole. . . . .

His Excellency John Hancock, of Boston
For his Receipt to said Francis dated the 9th October 1781, for Two thousand two hundred and two French Crowns . . .
Also for One French Guinea & 1 french Crown that were left on the Floor in Mr. Hancocks Room for which there is no Receipt . . 5 64/90

. . . . . .

Benjamin Dudley
For his Receipts dated Boston October 13th for Seventy Six Crowns
Jeronimus Hoagland Cap: "2" Regimt Light Dragoons 84 40/90 — NOV. 3 MUST HAVE BEEN INTENDED.
For his Receipt dated Hacketts Town /N.J./ November 13, 1781, for Thirty two Dollars advanced him to pay the Expences of an Escort of Forty Dragoons from that place to Camp near Peekskill on their return from escorting the Money.

Expense in bringing to Philadelphia from Boston Money that arrived from France in 1781.
For Five thousand eight hundred and fifty three dollars & 88/90th the Amount of sundry Sums paid by said Francis, viz
His own Expences and the expences of Major Samuel Nichols of this City who accompanied him, of the Escort, of 15 Waggons and 60 Oxen and 13 Horses purchased, Boards for Boxes, Servants Wages & Expences and Money paid to Major A. Morrell amounts as pr State of Account to 8690 61/90
Deduct 56 Oxen 12 Horses and sundry Articles sold at Vendue amounting to 2836 63/90. . . . . 5853 88/90

(Now from Robert Morris' Diary, ~~two~~ 3 items:)
Nov. 6, 1781. "Major Nichols arrived last night from Boston with a letter from Tench Francis Esqr (Phila) whom he left with the Treasure about sixteen miles from the City, and as he will be in this day I wrote orders for Mr. Francis to deliver the Money to Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer and Orders to the latter to receive the same and hold it to my order only."
Nov. 10 (Sat.), 1781. "Ordered some money on application of Mr. Dudley to pay his expences. Issued a Warrant on Mr. Swanwick in favor of Mr. Dudley £15.19.3"
Nov. 19, 1781. "Mr. Francis, to inform me the Sales he made on Saturday of the Oxen and Horses that brought the Money from Boston which he thinks went off pretty high."

- -

That's enough; the page is full, but there is a lot more where this came from! Best regards.

Ray Williamson
Raymond H. Williamson

July 23, 1956

Mr. R. H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 9th.

Mr. Newman is away on vacation at the present time and will return to the office about the middle of August.

Your letter and enclosures will receive his attention at that time.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mr. Newman

SPECIAL FRANKLIN NUMBER OF NUMISMATIST

To: Mrs. Pond, Messrs. Dolnick, Fuld, Hoober, Newman, Sipe, Smedley, Williamson; Werner, ~~and~~ Sheldon.

1. Papers received so far ---

JUL 28 1956

Dolnick:- "Notes on the Franklin Half Dollar"
Fuld:- "Franklin Tokens"
Fuld:- Franklin medals in Fuld collection
Hoober:- "Franklin's Influence of Colonial and Continental Currencies"
Newman:- "Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coinage"
Williamson:- "Franklin Press Token of 1794"
Werner: Franklin medals in ANS & special article on Nini medal

2. Papers still to be received ---

Pond:- "Boston School Medals"
Sheldon:- "The Great Seal"
Sipe: "The Philadelphia Franklin"
Smedley:- ""Franklin on Paper Money Since the Revolution"
Bradfield:- General BF piece which cannot be written until all papers are in.

3. If at all possible, I would like to have as many papers as ~~me~~ I can get before the ANA convention. The deadline is still Oct. 1, but I hope papers are in my hands long before that time; I will appreciate your help in getting them to me as early as possible.

4. As there will undoubtedly be many problems to be ironed out after I get the papers and as many of the "Frahklin committee" will be in attendance at the Chicago ANA convention, I am issuing a call for a little special committee meeting during that convention at which we can ~~xxxxxx~~ take whatever steps are necessary to coordinate the project.

5. Papers received so far are superior and show that a lot of thought and research have gone into them. Think we'll have a first class production in our Franklin Number. Many thanks for your assistance.

Elston G Bradfield, Editor

August 22, 1956

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

When we meet we will be able to solve a lot more problems than through the mail. Your letter has raised so many interesting points that I feel, first, that I should answer them.

You certainly have my permission to send to Dr. Bell the article I wrote on "Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coinage".

What you say about the Papers of Thomas Jefferson and your experience with Dr. Julian Boyd is interesting. I wrote him telling him that I was the owner of the 100 mill piece and that he omitted any reference to the 1787 Fugio coinage and stated that there was no Federal coinage from the time of the 1783 patterns until 1792. He did not take this suggestion very readily either.

As far as getting the exact date on the Morris coinage proposals or even Jefferson's notes on coinage, I have no data for you. I have nothing on Benjamin Dudley either and am very interested in any notes you have.

The galley proofs of the article I wrote on Virginia Copper Coinage will be available at any time now and it would be a pleasure if you would care to look them over.

If you would like to cut me in on copies of the numismatic source book sheets I would be delighted and I would contribute my little bit to the knowledge contained therein. It certainly will be fascinating for you to write up your many interesting notes.

The most important thing I want to do is make a few comments on your article on the Franklin Press token. I think the first two paragraphs should be eliminated as you are too modest and it gives an improper tone to the article to make it look so indecisive. You covered the uncertainties later in the article.

August 22, 1956

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson

On page 4, where you indicate the Franklin token was purely an English tradesmen's token, I believe you should discount the fact that there was a hope that some of these tokens might circulate in America.

On page 5, with respect to the translation on the Franklin cent, I think the words "knowledge arises" might better be "an idea originates", or, "thought originates", or "a philosophy originates". If the word "knowledge" has to be used it should be accompanied with the word "spread" rather than "arise".

On page 6, you mention a specimen of the token in Baldwin's collection. I just saw the specimen in his collection and the edge reeding slants down to the left instead of down to the right. On page 6, the second point you make concerning English tradesmen's tokens should be changed. There was no scarcity of copper coins. Copper coins of the smaller sizes which had flooded the country were not acceptable for halfpence because of their light weight and the larger halfpence were therefore introduced. The same idea in subdivision 3 should be corrected.

There are no die varieties known of the Franklin token and it was not shipped to America. I do not believe that these questions should be asked of the reading public.

I, frankly, think that your article on the Franklin Press token contains a great deal of information and is very interesting. Just because you have a few questions you cannot answer should not make you feel disappointed and reflect that disappointment in the article. It is a definite contribution to numismatic knowledge to have all of this assembled.

It is always a pleasure to hear from you and I look forward to our further correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

THE FRANKLIN PRESS TOKEN OF 1794

By Raymond H. Williamson, ANA No. 9482

Because of loose reporting -- even erroneous reporting -- during the last 125 years or so, this story about the Franklin Press and its token must be only an interim report, although a definitive account was originally intended. Seldom has the "authority of the printed page" been less worthy of confidence. We may be sure that Benjamin Franklin, printer and publisher, would have been much more accurate and complete if the reporting assignment had been his through the years.

Since no one living today can remember the conditions which existed at the end of the eighteenth century, our story must come from a study of the token itself, from the written word, and from an ancient printing press. This interim report will give several versions of the token's origin, only one of which could have been true, and will also state some of the remaining questions we hope will be answered in a future review. Detective work to date has been stimulating but not too rewarding.

The Franklin Press at Watts' Printing Works, London

There really was a printing press in London which has since come to be known as the "Franklin Press". When Benjamin Franklin made his first trip to Europe in 1724 at the age of 18, he worked at his trade of journeyman printer. His longest employment was at John Watts' Printing Works, Wyld Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London; this was probably the greatest printing firm in England at the time. In the literature, Franklin has been placed in the employ

of Watts in 1724, 1725 to 1728 and even 1731; actually he returned to America in 1728. His main employment was as a compositor, but he often took his turn at an old-style hand-operated printing press.

During Franklin's third trip to England, 1764-1775, he probably revisited Watts' Printing Works. Approaching the particular printing press on which he had worked as a very young man, he is quoted as having said, "Come my friends, we will drink together. It is now forty years since I worked like you at this press, as a journeyman printer." Doctor Franklin is reported to then have sent out for a gallon of porter, with which he shared a toast SUCCESS TO PRINTING with the employees of the shop. The most likely date for this event seems to be 1768, when Franklin was 62. However, the visit has been otherwise dated as during his term in London as Colonial Agent for Massachusetts which began in October of 1770; "During a stay in England in 1771"; and also during the negotiation of the peace treaty with England, which would be in 1781 or 1782 during Franklin's fourth and last trip to Europe, 1776-1785. The last possibility seems extremely unlikely, since the peace negotiations were conducted in France. Moreover, we are not absolutely sure that Franklin's printing press was still operated by John Watts' firm, since somewhere around 1771 Watts sold the press and possibly the business to Cox & Bayliss, later Messrs. Cox & Son (father Edward Cox and son J. L. Cox) of Great Queen Street, London.

Some time before 1833, Messrs. Cox & Son sold the Franklin Press to the printing firm of Messrs. Harrild & Sons, where it was kept in "an upper room in a by-lane of London, at some distance from a frequented street".

In June of 1833, a brass plate was attached to the press,

identifying it as the one Franklin had used, relating the SUCCESS TO PRINTING episode, and disclosing other information and misinformation.

In 1841, John B. Murray of New York City discovered the press in "the upper room" and borrowed it for a series of lectures and demonstrations in Liverpool. The press was eventually given to him by Messrs. Harrild & Sons; the only payment was the formation of a Franklin Printers' Pension Fund with the proceeds of the lectures, a little over 150 pounds sterling. Murray tried to give the press to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, but apparently it was refused. He brought it to America anyway in 1841. It was installed in the National Institute, Washington, the next year. It was displayed there until 1883, except for six months in 1876 when it was exhibited with the printing presses of R. Hoe & Company at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

The press was loaned to the Smithsonial Institution (then styled The National Museum) at Washington in 1883, and it has been on exhibition as a treasured relic in their division of history ever since; it is known as "The Franklin Press". In 1901 it became the property of the United States government. (Various publications located the Franklin Press at the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; the Public Museum at Philadelphia; and even at the Patent Office in Washington. It seems doubtful if the old press was ever located at any of these places.)

The Franklin Press Token

This well-known copper piece at first seems another of those interesting links which tie the English coinage to the early American

series. This is because it is pictured and listed in most handbooks relating to American coinage, due to the cryptic presence of the word FRANKLIN. Actually, it is another of the purely English tradesman's tokens which flourished at the end of the 18th century.

Study of the token itself or search of commonly available publications for its story shows it to be a token almost without a history. The statement in R. S. Yeoman's Guidebook is as enlightening as most: "This piece is an English token but has often been associated with Benjamin Franklin and has accordingly been placed in American collections."

It is interesting to note that the Franklin Press token achieved comtemporary numismatic listing in England. Beginning in 1795, the year following the date of the token, there appeared serially in London the eight small volumes of The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collectors Guide, by Thomas Prattent. These little books indexed the then-known English tradesman's tokens and illustrated them with copper-plate etchings. The Franklin Press token is shown and listed as a London halfpenny piece. It was also listed in comtemporary numismatic books by Charles Pye (1795), Samuel Birchall (1796), James Condor (1799), and probably by other writers. But nowhere are historical data given; not even the names of the die engraver, coiner or issuer.

Crosby's description of this token is as accurate today as when originally published (1875) in Early Coins of America:

OBVERSE

Device,-- A printing press, of old style.
Legend,-- SIC ORITUR DOCTRINA SURGETQUE LIBERTAS
In exergue,-- 1794

REVERSE

The inscription,-- PAYABLE AT THE FRANKLIN PRESS LONDON

Borders,-- Milled [Upset]. Edge,-- Plain.

Size,-- 17-1/2. Weight,-- 120 grains [or 5 dwt.]

Nowhere in the dozen or so listings examined does anyone essay the translation of the Latin legend, probably because it is somewhat difficult. Among several possible variations in English phrasing, the translation given below is acceptable to Dr. Mario Pei of Columbia University, the eminent authority on romance languages, and to Richard P. Breaden, Librarian of the American Numismatic Society: "Thus [by the printing press] Knowledge Arises and Liberty will Burst Forth."

a philosophy or idea or thought may originated

Even with such an American-interest slogan for the obverse legend, there is no evidence that these tokens ever circulated in the United States. It is interesting to note that the familiar U.S. thick copper cent of the same date, 1794, had about the same diameter but was almost 75 percent heavier. There is no factual basis for the common practice of calling the Franklin Press token a "cent". The English tradesman's tokens rarely carried an actual denomination marking, perhaps to avoid legal regulation. However, the catalogers of the day had no difficulty in identifying them as farthings, half-pennies and pennies from their size and appearance.

The most comprehensive modern reference available for this series is Dalton and Hamer, The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century, (1910). D&H No. 307a is the common variety of Franklin Press token, with plain edge, which (we are told) was not struck in a collar. D&H No. 307 is a RRR sub-variety with edge lettered: AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESS'D OF ALL NATIONS. This edge

inscription is common to at least half a dozen other tradesman's tokens, and might be expected to yield clues to the name of the manufacturer of the Franklin Press token. Unfortunately, the edge lettering is a separate manufacturing operation from the striking of the two faces so that at best it could be expected to give only a probability of the coiner's identity. This is because the various coiners might exchange either "edge dies" for the Casting edge-marking machine or (much more likely) coiners might sell surplus edge-marked blanks. A. H. Baldwin of the British numismatic firm of A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., London, informed this writer in October of 1955 that he possessed a specimen of the Franklin Press token with reeded edge, not previously reported.

9 spirit down to left instead of down right.

The issuers of the English tradesman's tokens of the 1787 - 1801 series seem to have had about five different motives, all of which helped their business:

1) Due to the long-term lack of copper coins from the Royal Mint, a few business houses issued their own, on the basis that (in all honesty) even a copper coin should have a metal value very nearly equal to its face value. Issues of this type were very limited, even though their advertising messages helped liquidate their cost. The Franklin Press halfpenny token will not fit this category, because it weighs only about 80 percent as much as a half-penny of the Royal Mint.

acceptable not plate scarce

2) Due to the scarcity of copper coins for change, some business firms issued light-weight copper advertising tokens, containing (like paper money) a real or implied promise of redemption in legal money at a stated place. However, a contemporary writer points out

that "It is well known that the obligation to pay was in a short time evaded." The tokens we are considering would fall in this class if we could be sure there was a business establishment named or nick-named "The Franklin Press" in 1794.

3) Again, due to the crying need for any kind of small change, many tons of light-weight coppers bearing no pledge of redemption were readily passed into circulation at a profit. The Franklin Press token could be a cleverly phrased item of this type, if it turns out that there never was a firm known as "The Franklin Press".

4) Several coiners also made light-weight tokens carrying clever propaganda messages which would cause them to move profitably in the export field, such as into the newly United States. Even this possibility cannot be ruled out entirely for the case we are considering.

5) British coiners struck a few tokens, particularly mules of common obverses and reverses, made to sell at fancy prices to contemporary coin collectors. The Franklin Press token is far too common to fit this case.

Unanswered Questions

The $64 question of course is: "Was the Franklin Press token actually issued by the London firm which owned the printing press on which Franklin worked on his first trip to England, and, if so, was the establishment named or nick-named 'The Franklin Press' in 1794?"

Other questions follow naturally. What is the chronology of the names of the firms which have owned the Franklin printing Press before 1831? Who cut the dies for the tokens? Are there die vari-

No

eties? Was this token shipped to America in quantity, as a contemporary of the Talbot, Allum & Lee tokens of the same date? If readers in England or America can furnish answers to any of these questions, the information would be most welcome.

Acknowledgements and Conclusion

The help of many persons was needed to secure even the meager results so far achieved. Among them and in addition to those already cited are Frank Purvey of B. A. Seaby, Ltd. (and see lot 307A in their Coin and Medal Bulletin for May 1955!); the staffs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Smithsonian Institution and the American Numismatic Society; also Howard Kurth of Schenectady for the loan of specialized books. Most fruitful source of all was that former ANA Librarian and lakeside philosopher Charles W. Foster, "The Suitcase Dealer". He produced from his own library an important item not otherwise available: W. Longman's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century Connected with Booksellers and Bookmakers, London (1916). Longman's excellent conclusions on the Franklin Press token are here quoted as the conclusion to this interim report:

"It is, unfortunately, not definitely known who the issuers of this token were, but it does not seem unreasonable to assign the piece to the firm of Watts, in Wylde Court, where Benjamin Franklin worked as a journeyman printer, although there is no other evidence that this firm called itself The Franklin Press. In any case, there seems little doubt that the printing press shown on the obverse of the token is meant for the famous press at which Franklin worked when he was employed at Watts' Printing Works in 1725 and 1726."

(June 1956. Third Draft)

LEGENDS FOR PICTURES

The Franklin Press as it Appears Today. This photograph was Furnished by the Smithsonian Institution via the Late Stuart Mosher, Former Smithsonian Curator of Numismatics and Editor Emeritus of The Numismatist.

Contemporary Listing of the Franklin Press Token in The Virtuoso's Companion. Photograph Shows Top and Bottom of Plate 21, Vol. 1, Dated September 21, 1795.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Raymond H. Williamson of Liverpool, New York, has been a General Electric electronics engineer since 1928 and is now the manager of engineering administration for their radio communication equipment design section. His numismatic specialties are U. S. large copper cents and early American coinage history.

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
August 26, 1956

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

This will be a hasty but prompt reply to your good letter of August 22.

I'll send you one of the five copies in existence of The Numismatic Source Book when I get a few more sheets in it. It has a wonderful future (Ihope) but hardly any present!

It would be a pleasure to look over the galley proofs of your Virginia Copper Coinage.

Re my article on The Franklin Press Token, I plan to tone down the indecisiveness of the first two paragraphs as you suggest; this is doubly desirable since I've acquired some more information re the Franklin Press altho practically nothing on the token. You make several statements that I'd very much like to use, if you can verify them, or help me to do so. In the research for this article I honestly believe one printed statement in four has been either conjectural or just plain not so. Your statements of interest are:

1) ". . . the fact that there was a hope that some of these tokens might circulate in America." Your statement seems reasonable, but can it be pushed beyond the speculation stage?

2)"There are no die varieties known of the Franklin Press token and it was not shipped to America." Background on this statement would improve the article very much. Can you give me the angles?

I like your translation of the Latin motto better than that of the authorities cited. However, their credentials are unimpeachible, and I may decide to use their statement. I haven't translated any Latin since 1922, in Eagle Grove, Iowa. Have your efforts been more recent?

Regarding the scarcity of copper coinage (or the plethora), I believe it would be safe to say that regal coppers were scarce, that evasive imitations (light-weight) were common but unwanted and the Tradesman's tokens were welcomed due to their greater weight; it might even be said that the bad coins had driven out the good by Gresham's law, but I guess rather that the "good" (regal) coins were just plain worn out.

Re edge reeding slanting down to the left, It is assumed you mean with the coin held to view the edge, vertically, either side up. Can you draw any conclusions or speculations ? Are "down to the left" reeds scarcer than "down to the right?" References?

The relatively few impressions of the Franklin Press token I've seen generally had a rather massive die break through the printing press. David Proskey considered that a perfect die specimen was rarer than one with a broken die when sold in 1890 as lot 2456 of the R. Coulton Davis sale by the NY Stamp & Coin Co. This strengthens the idea of a single pair of dies.

The erroneous use of the word "cent" in connection with the Franklin Press token intrigues me. Most current US handbooks and auction catalogs call it a "cent", including ANS 1914 Exhibition Catalog. I've chased the "Franklin Press Cent" name in my own library back as far as the 1873 L. G. Parmelee Descriptive Catalog of the former G. F. Seavey Collection; lot 191. Any thoughts?

I've received no replies to my July 8 and August 13 letters to the Smithsonian Institution. All other agencies (about a dozen) have replied and most have helped. Have you had a similar experience?

George Fuld of Brookline, Mass., cites Lot 408 in W. E. Woodword's 69th Sale in 1884: Obv. Franklin Press Halfpenny;"reverse, mark of the East India Co.; copper planchet two sizes larger and twice the thickness of the last; excessively rare, perhaps unique." Do you know if the "mark of the East India Co." would be their bale mark which I believe was the same as their coat of arms? Would this lightly suggest Boulton & Watt as coiners for the Franklin Press token?

F. Purvey of B. A. Seaby Ltd. thinks "The Franklin Press" might have been an Inn or Tavern.

Have been corresponding with John Martin Willem Jr., Sixpence Farm, Route 2, Penny Road, Dundee, Ill. He is working on quite a comprehensive article on The Trade Dollar. Succeeded in getting him and Neil Carothers into correspondence, much to Willem's benefit. Willem is a VP or so in the J. Walter Thompson Co. advertising agency, Wrigley Bldg. He hopes it will be an ANS monograph. Know Mr. Willem?

I was in St. Louis over night last October, but rarely get out there on business. It would be a distinct pleasure to get together. The latch string is always out here for a weekend or whatever, but of course would appreciate reasonable notice. I'm frightfully busy at work -- it's budget time, and we're trying to recruit engineers and simultaneously make detailed plans for moving our entire Communication Equipment operation to Gainesville, Florida about this time next year.

Hope to hear from you soon on the Franklin Press items. My deadline with manuscript complete is October 1, and time is running out.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Raymond H. Williamson

August 29, 1956

Mr. R. H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

A quick answer to your letter of August 26th.

The fact that there was hope that the Franklin Press cent might circulate in America is a speculation only. My statement that there are no die varieties of the Franklin Press Token is merely one from my experience and I think you should get the reference in Dalton and Hammer which, as you know, is the recognized authority on die varieties of tradesmen's tokens.

Regarding the scarcity of copper coinage, my information is more accurate. It would not be safe to say that regal coppers were scarce. They were coined in great quantity from 1770 through 1775, as you know, and counterfeits were coined during the same period and thereafter, and many of these counterfeits were not light weight. The regal coppers, as well as the counterfeits, and including the evasive imitations, were all very common and unacceptable. Tradesmen's tokens were welcome because of their greater weight and regal coinage was just as unacceptable because of their lack of weight, as the counterfeits or evasions, since, as a practical matter, the public could not tell the difference. The regal coins were not worn out by usage.

I have made a serious error in advising you as to the edge reeding slanting down to the left. I relied on memory and the coin was the Washington Great cent and not the Franklin Press cent. Please eliminate any comments on this reeding. Again, I suggest you go to Dalton and Hammer (A.N.S. has a copy) to straighten this matter out as to the edges.

The use of the word "cent" as applied to the Franklin Press coin is meaningless. I use the word "copper" or "copper halfpenny token" and I think that is what you should use.

Thank you for the suggestion of the name of Mr. Willem. I do not know him. Much has been written on the Trade Dollar already.

Hastily yours,

Sincerely,

EPN/atb

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
Sept. 18, 1956

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

Your August 29 letter is indeed appreciated, but comes as somewhat of a bombshell since it contradicts "the authorities" in a couple of important respects. You certainly inspire confidence and faith; I'm accepting your translation of the Latin motto on the Franklin Press token in preference to that of the Romance Language Department of Columbia University, and now I'm going along with your statements quoted below:

"...regal coppers were not scarce. . . counterfeits were coined during the same period (1770-5) and thereafter, and many of these counterfeits were not light weight. The regal coppers . . .were. . very common and unacceptable. Tradesmen's tokens were welcome because of their greater weight, and regal coinage was ~~xxxxxx~~ unacceptable because of its lack of weight. . "

I know that you have made a study of the coinage of this period in depth, especially the ties to America, and your statements make sense, but they do contradict H. W. Dickinson's Matthew Boulton (which is not surprising) and do not line up well with statements in Sir John Craig's The Mint (altho I believe there are no actual contradictions.)

Please share with me your sources for the above underlined items. No hurry; I'm going along with your statements to meet a deadline in a few days "on faith!"

Seaby's believes (and I concur) that the Franklin Press token is not what A. W. Waters calls a GTT -- Genuine Trade Token (redeemable), but rather it was struck for sale to collectors in England; it weighed only 120 grains as compared with 152 grains for the regal halfpence of 1775 at 46 to the lb. advp. and 153 grains for the Talbot, Allum & Lee token of the same date. A RRR sub-variety of the Franklin Press token arouses speculation as to this item as an American speculation, since this edge is shared with the Kentucky token and a couple of Washington tokens.

Must close in great haste to meet my deadline, as the material is chaotic at the moment, and I'm in the midst of 80 hours a week on a GE budget.

Best regards, and again, thanks.

Very truly yours,
Ray Williamson
Raymond H. Williamson

Oct. 6, 1956

THE FRANKLIN PRESS TOKEN OF 1794

By Raymond H. Williamson, ANA No. 9482

This is the story of the Franklin Press halfpenny copper token, struck in England four years after Benjamin Franklin's death at the ripe old age of 84 years. The story is also concerned with the printing press in London at which Franklin worked as a 20-year-old journeyman printer. It is probable that these two subjects are closely related, as we shall see.

The Franklin Press token is a member of that notable family styled English Eighteenth Century Tokens. Hundreds of tons of them were privately minted between 1787 and 1797, plus a few more up to 1801. They have delighted coin collectors since the days of their first appearance, due to the profusion of types, to their human interest, and to the general excellence of the die cutters' work. The initial presence of these tokens in numismatic circulation produced many more coin dealers in London than there are today,[1] and the tokens have inspired dozens of books and articles.

After much research, it turns out that the Franklin Press token is nearly without a firm history. In order to make credible speculations concerning its origin, it is necessary first to review the status of English copper coinage in the latter half of the eighteenth century which invited the production of copper counterfeits, evasive imitations of regal copper coins, and finally the copper tokens.[2] Next in order is a study of the Franklin Press token and its probable relation to this background. Following this study, a "flash-back" to much earlier events reveals the history of the old printing press and brings its story up to date.

Counterfeits and Evasive Imitations of Regal Coppers

The placing of privately-minted copper coins in circulation as money undoubtedly would be considered counterfeiting today. But in eighteenth century England, the counterfeit laws dealt tenderly with private coiners as long as they imitated only regal copper coins and didn't copy the designs too closely. It was a matter of small concern if a regal copper were imitated or counterfeited because it wasn't considered

as real money anyway, not even at the Royal Mint. This was because the weight of a regal copper had been chosen so that the metal value was substantially less than the face value -- by law, enough less to pay the production costs of coining. Silver and gold coins were minted full weight -- that is, metal value equalled face value; taxes were levied to pay the expenses of their minting but this was considered too costly a procedure for copper. Therefore, a regal copper was too light in weight to be considered "honest money" or even "money" by people who for centuries had held the idea that real coins must have full value "built in". So the evasive imitation of regal copper halfpence [3] was a fairly respectable trade and outright counterfeiting was common if not respectable.

Many imitation and counterfeit coppers weighed as much as regal coins, but the private coiner could still make a profit because his production costs were lower than those of the Royal Mint. He sometimes increased his profit by lowering the coin weight below that of a regal copper and by mixing lower-cost metals with the copper. However, such coins were extremely unpopular if the debasement could be detected readily; they were refused if payment could be had in any other form.

In the late 1780's, the profits of the private coiner soared still higher because the cost of copper from the mines in Cornwall dropped about 25 percent. In 1750, about half the coppers in circulation had been privately minted and by 1789 two-thirds were bogus. They sold in bulk as low as 36 halfpence to the silver shilling instead of 24 -- a highly profitable mark-up for the merchant or manufacturer who bought low-cost coppers to meet a payroll and paid them to his employees at face value.

Both regal coppers and counterfeits (including evasive imitations) were generally plentiful, although the lack of any official distribution system caused occasional local shortages and also terrific over-supplies. But they were <u>all</u> extremely unpopular and were only acceptable as a last resort, because they were too light in weight to be "honest".[4] To the man in the street, the regal copper was just as unacceptable as the counterfeit of equivalent weight since, as a practical matter, he couldn't tell the difference.

English Eighteenth Century Tokens

Thus, by 1787, popular demand had set the stage for another successful private coinage adventure -- the production and marketing of the heavier-than-regal, non-imitative copper Traders' tokens. Their heavier weight made them popular at once. As evidence of their continuing popularity, 600 tons of them were coined between 1787 and 1797 in Birmingham alone.

The genuine traders' token was generally heavier than the regal copper, although, of course, it was not so heavy as to wipe out the private coiner's profit. There were a few exceptions, probably unpopular, which were lighter than regal coppers. From information in a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1794, genuine traders' halfpenny tokens varied in weight between about 5.6 pennyweights (dwt) and 10 dwt as compared to the regal halfpenny of 1775 at about 6.3 dwt and to the legal Boulton-contract halfpenny of 1799 at about 8.1 dwt.[5]

It is regrettable that the extensive literature on the eighteenth century tokens has almost nothing to say concerning their weight. Observation of them plus a few references[2,4] confirm the idea that the weight was a pivotal factor in determining the number to be coined and the public acceptability of all these coppers. This conclusion makes sense in view of the conditions which prevailed at that day, although it is at variance with most of the literature which generally cites scarcity of regal issues as the reason for all the private coppers.[6]

Another feature of the genuine traders' token was its stated redeemability in real money by the issuer at an address given on the token. Thus, business advertising was a by-product of their use. Token making was a truly respectable business, especially at first. Later (as would be expected) light-weight, debased and counterfeit versions of the traders' tokens appeared and, of course, the counterfeiting and imitation of regal halfpence continued.

A second and numerous class of eighteenth century tokens was made for general circulation. That is, they were sold in bulk by the private coiner to anyone who

wished to pass unredeemable tokens into general circulation at a profit. The promise of redemption and the name and address of the issuer were either missing or evasive. They competed for acceptability in trade on the basis of their weight. Many carried propaganda messages of a political nature.

Collectors tokens, a third class, were made for sale to coin collectors who were then demanding more types. Such tokens were coined in fairly limited numbers.

The fourth class, private tokens, was of extremely limited coinage. They were coined as artificial rarities on order of private coin collectors who found them useful in bargaining with fellow collectors. Most of these items have the appearance of genuine traders' tokens.

We are now ready to study the Franklin Press token to see where it fits into this kaleidoscopic picture.

The Franklin Press Token

Crosby's description is as accurate today as when originally published (1875) in his Early Coins of America:

OBVERSE

Device, -- A printing press, of old style.

Legend, -- SIC ORITUR DOCTRINA SURGETQUE LIBERTAS

SIC ORITUR

In exergue, -- 1794

REVERSE

The inscription, -- PAYABLE AT THE FRANKLIN PRESS LONDON

Borders, -- Milled [Upset.] Edge, -- Plain.

Size, -- 17-1/2 [sixteenths of an inch] .

Weight, -- 120 grains [or 5 dwt.]

Nowhere in the dozen or so listings examined does anyone essay the translation of the Latin legend, probably because it is somewhat difficult. Among several acceptable variations in English phrasing, the translation given below is offered as most meaningful: "Thus by the Printing Press a Philosophy Originates and Liberty will Burst Forth." This legend seems intended to inspire Englishmen to hold mildly liberal views, perhaps sympathetic to the American cause or to the contemporary

French Revolution, as did some other English tokens of this period.

By far the most comprehensive reference available is Dalton and Hamer[8], The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century, (1910-1917). D & H No. Middlesex 307 is an extremely rare sub-variety with edge lettered: AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESS'D OF ALL NATIONS. A. H. Baldwin of the British numismatic firm of A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., London, informed this writer in October of 1955 that he possessed a specimen of the Franklin Press token with an obliquely reeded edge. No other edge variations have been found.

Dalton and Hamer list literally thousands of die varieties for eighteenth century tokens, but apparently only a single pair of dies was used in the case we are considering. The Franklin Press token was not even flattered by imitation or counterfeiting, and in only a single reported instance by "muling."

A mule of the Franklin Press obverse appeared in W. E. Woodward's Boston sale of a "Private Collection," October 13-18, 1884; lot 408: "Obv. like the last [printing press]; rev., mark of the East India Co.; copper planchet two sizes larger and twice the thickness of the last; excessively rare. . ." Woodward apparently sold this mule a second time in the Twining auction of April 27-29, 1886; lot 1102: ". . rev., the monogram of the East India Co. On a planchet of double thickness; of contemporary period, and the only one known." The mark or monogram of the East India Co. is their bale mark, consisting of an outlined heart divided into four segments by two crossed diagonal lines. The letters V E I C for United East India Company appear in the upper, left, right, and bottom segments respectively. There is generally a numeral "4" above the heart. This bale mark is a part of the reverse of several eighteenth century tokens. We cannot now determine which one may have been muled with the Franklin Press obverse.

Most impressions of the Franklin Press token seen by the writer have a heavy die break through the printing press below the handle. David Proskey, a careful numismatist, considered that a perfect-die speciment was much rarer than one with the broken die when the former was sold in 1890 as lot 2456 in the R. Coulton Davis auction

by the New York Stamp and Coin Company.

The Franklin Press token of 1794 achieved contemporary numismatic listing in the English coin collectors' guidebooks and handbooks. For example, beginning in 1795, there appeared serially in London the eight small volumes of The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collectors Guide, by Thomas Prattent. These little books indexed the then-known English eighteenth century tokens and illustrated them with copper-plate engravings. The Franklin Press token was shown and listed without comment as a London halfpenny piece. It was listed similarly in contemporary numismatic books by Charles Pye (1795)[9], Samuel Birchall (1796)[10], James Conder (1798)[11], and probably by other writers. But nowhere in this contemporary material have historical data been found; not even the names of the die engraver, coiner or issuer.

Questions on the Franklin Press Token

Is it rare? With a single pair of dies, the order of magnitude of the number coined might have been 30,000 except that the obverse die failed early, so perhaps no more than a tenth of this number were struck. Such a limited issue as 3,000 would have a face value as halfpence just over 6 pounds sterling and would weigh a little over 50 pounds avoirdupois. These figures are, of course, highly conjectural. The token is regularly offered at sales and may be considered scarce, but not rare.

Is it a halfpenny? No face value is marked on the token. This omission casts doubt on its status as a genuine traders' token, since most of them were marked PENNY, HALFPENNY, etc., without any trouble from the counterfeit laws. However, all observed contemporary and other listings place the Franklin Press Token with the halfpence. It weighs about 80 percent as much as a regal halfpenny or 160 percent of a regal farthing. Could it have been intended as the Franklin Press farthing token? This writer has concluded it was intended as a light-weight halfpenny token. Fully half the American references call it the Franklin Press Cent, a meaningless and incorrect name so hallowed by habit that it will doubtless continue. This misuse of the name "cent" goes back at least as far as the L. G. Parmalee Descriptive Catalog of American Coins, Boston, 1873. English private coiners made several copper coins for circulation in America in the 1790's, which correctly announced themselves as "cents." These include the

contemporary Talbot Allum and Lee cents of 1794 issued in New York; also, the earlier Washington President cents of 1791, D & H Middlesex 1049 and 1050. These last are indexed in D & H as "Halfpence".

Did the Franklin Press Token Circulate in America? A substantial fraction of the specimens seen are somewhat worn -- by circulation rather than by cabinet friction -- so they did circulate somewhere. The cryptic presence of the word FRANKLIN, the printing press and the "liberal" latin legend on this copper piece all make it seem to be one of those interesting links which tie the English coinage to the early American series; also the rare edge marking: AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS points toward an intention for use in America. However, no contemporary or other evidence of its circulation in America has been found. Its light weight would have been as severe an obstacle to acceptance in America as in England; it weighed only 58 percent as much as the U.S. copper cents of the same year[4]. The promise to pay at a location on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean seems to pretty well rule out any intention to circulate this coin in America. However, it has appeared in American coin books and handbooks for so many years in the "Miscellaneous" category of "Coins and Tokens of the English-American Colonies" that such listing is probably fixed for all time.

Did it circulate in England? Craig relates that a "commercial traveller who worked Chester carried fifty designs of tokens in his sample box, any one of which he could supply at 60 percent of face value."[12] The Franklin Press token may well have been one of them -- one of the more unpopular ones with prospective issuers. Of course, the token was of good copper, about regal diameter and carried a promise of redemption by a firm with a reasonable-sounding name. However, the light weight -- 80 percent of legal -- was below the minimum of 89 percent of legal cited in the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1794. Also, the difficult Latin motto would not help its popularity, except possibly among the literati. Most tokens intended for circulation were struck in substantially larger quantities than appears to have been the case with this one. The absence of counterfeits also points in the direction of unpopularity as a circulating medium. But it did circulate some in England.

Was it redeemable? The inscription on the token states unequivocally PAYABLE AT THE FRANKLIN PRESS LONDON. But was there a firm in London named or nicknamed "The Franklin Press?" "Yes", say Dalton and Hamer in an unindexed item (after the Addenda, the Corrigenda, the Tables and the General Index in the copy consulted.) They cite an anonymous writer in the English magazine Bazaar Notes without specifying the date: ". . . these were issued by the Proprietors of Watts Printing Office, known as the Franklin Press, because Benjamin Franklin at one time worked there as a journeyman printer and also as a compositor." Since the first issue of Bazaar Notes was in May, 1868, their statement is by no means contemporary with the token. No earlier use of the name "Franklin Press" to identify Watts' Printing Works has been found, although the idea has been copied and recopied in various publications since that time. Actually, as will be developed below, it is extremely doubtful if the Watts firm name persisted so many years after his death in 1763 or that his business or any other in London was known as "The Franklin Press" in 1794. Hence, the promise of redemption is very likely evasive, and we probably will never know the name of the issuer of the limited number which went into circulation.

Who manufactured it? No direct evidence has been found. A comparison of letter-punch markings with those on other tokens might yield some information, but the search would be tedious and probably unrewarding. Some further possibilities are worth considering. At least fourteen other English tokens carry the same "Asylum" edge marking which D & H describe as very rare for the Franklin Press token.[13] The names of the coiners are known for seven of the fourteen; for six of these seven, the coiner was William Lutwyche, one of the principal Birmingham token makers who supplied customers in all parts of the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, joint use of an edge die is not a very good clue to the manufacturer. The edge lettering is a separate manufacturing operation, preceding the striking of the two faces. A coiner often sold surplus edge-marked blanks to another coiner, or he might even have sold a second-hand edge die for the Castaing machine, used to roll on the edge marking.[14] However, the frequency with which the "Asylum" edge marking turns up on pieces struck by Lutwyche seems quite significant. Of further significance is the recurrence of

Lutwyche's name as the coiner of a series of tokens bearing the heart-shaped bale mark of the East India Company, similar or perhaps identical to the reverse of the very rare Franklin Press mule described above. These bale-mark tokens coined by Lutwyche include D&H Manchester 128-134, all common. While the name of the die cutter for the Franklin Press token is too speculative for discussion, William Lutwyche was probably the coiner.

To What Class Did the Franklin Press Token Belong? Most previous writers have ignored this important point. Those few who are on record agree (by inference at least) that the Franklin Press token was a genuine traders' token, issued by Watts Printing Works, London, where Benjamin Franklin worked as a young man. Despite this writer's great reluctance to spoil a good story, it has been necessary to abandon the "genuine traders' token" concept and substitute the probability that the Franklin Press token was struck in small quantities as an unredeemable token for general circulation which, after turning out to be unpopular, soon became of interest mainly to contemporary coin collectors. Also, its listing in all the contemporary guidebooks and handbooks made it a "must" for collectors. It was more than anything else a collectors' token.

Is the Printing Press on the Token really the Franklin Press? The representation on the token is stylized. It could be any "printing press of old style." The use of a printing press for a design harmonized with other token types of the day, which included such objects as coin presses, looms, water wheels, horse mills, plows, candle presses and the like. The inscription "Franklin Press" leaves
". . . little doubt that the printing press shown on the obverse of the token is meant for the famous press at which Franklin worked when he was employed at Watts' Printing Works in 1725 and 1726."[15] Therefore, a "flash-back" to pick up the history of this old printing press is next in order.

The Franklin Press at Watts' Printing Works, London

Benjamin Franklin's first stay in London lasted from December, 1724, until July, 1726, when he sailed for Philadelphia, age 20. He worked at Watts' Printing

Works most of the six-month period before his return. Watts was then 48 years old. His death at 85 in 1763[16] terminated his direction of his printing house, which was then sold with its equipment to Edward Cox of Cox and Bayliss,[17] which became Cox and Son (John Lewis Cox) shortly thereafter.[18]

Franklin almost certainly re-visited the old printing press some time during his third trip to London, December, 1764, to March, 1775. There is great confusion on the date and apparently no contemporary record; let us use 1768, when Franklin was 62. The revisitation is "almost certain" because it was like Franklin to have done so; because the tradition existed and was recorded on a brass plate 65 years later in 1833, in a book in 1839[16], and in correspondence in 1841;[19] and most importantly because the ancient press on Wyld Street was only 15 or 20 minutes' walk from Mrs. Margaret Stevenson's boarding house, at No. 7 (now No. 36) Craven Street, where Franklin lived during the 15 years of his second and third trips to London.

Some time before 1829 -- probably long before -- Messrs. Cox and Son moved their printing firm to 75 Great Queen Street.[20]
Also in 1829, Robert Harrild moved his printing business (established 40 years earlier) to 11, Great Distaff Lane,[20] bought the Franklin Press from J. L. Cox and Sons and moved it to "an upper room in a by-lane of London at some distance from a frequented street." Four years later, a brass plate was mounted on the old press to tell its history, and it was (according to Timperley in 1839) ". . . shown to strangers as a curiosity."[16] The writer hesitates to quote the engraving on this plate due to the numerous errors, but (with this word of caution) reproduces it:

"Dr. Franklin's remarks relative to this press, made when he came to England as agent of the Massachusetts, in the year 1768. The Doctor at this time visited the Printing office of Mr. Watts, of Wild-street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and going up to this particular Press, (afterwards, in the possesion of Messrs. Cox and Son, of Great Queen-street, of whom it was purchased,) thus addressed the men who were working at it: 'Come, my friends, we will drink together. It is now forty years since I worked like you at this Press, as a journeyman Printer.' The Doctor then sent out

for a gallon of Porter, and he drank with them, -

'SUCCESS TO PRINTING'

"From the above, it will appear that it is 108 years since Dr. Franklin worked at this identical Press - June 1833."[21]

Timperley[18] identifies the "men who were working at it" as two in number, so there should have been an adequate supply of porter. John L. Cox in 1841, identified one of the participants as a man named Norgrove in his father's employ about 70 years earlier.

That same year of 1841, there appeared upon the English scene, a colorful character named John Boyles Murray of New York City, a rich man's son preparing himself for a career as a capitalist of the old school.[22] From this point on, the history of the old printing press is quite clear. Murray had left Columbia College after his sophomore year, and had been placed for a year's training at the Liverpool branch of the then great London firm of Frederick Huth and Company. He wrote that on a trip to London, "In the month of June last, I accidentally learned that the identical Printing Press at which Dr. Franklin had worked in London in 1725-26, was still in existence . . ."[19] He became absolutely fascinated with the idea of bringing this relic to America. In the end, he overcame the many obstacles on both sides of the Atlantic and brought it to Washington in 1842. He retained personal title to the press, and presumably paid the expense of its Atlantic crossing. The American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, after several months' consideration, had refused this treasured relic of their founder because of certain conditions set forth by Murray, including a donation to the Printers' Pension Society of London. Murray claimed later to have withdrawn all conditions and certainly planned to present the press to this organization[23]. However, there is no record of the offer without the conditions, and the press was never permanently located in Philadelphia, despite a half dozen statements to the contrary in the literature.

Instead, in 1842, it was placed on semi-permanent loan with The National Institute,[24] which had been incorporated that year by Act of Congress. The press was placed on public display in "the largest room in the United States"[25] -- the museum of the

newly completed Patent Office Building in Washington, D. C., along with national historical relics such as the Declaration of Independence and with the Patent Office's own collection of patent models.

In 1876, the Franklin Press -- and the Declaration of Independence -- were on display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, from May to November. The Franklin Press was a part of the exhibit of R. Hoe and Company, New York manufacturers of printing presses.[21] After the Exposition, the Declaration of Independance was claimed by and returned to the State Department, its legal custodian, which by then had a new building of their own. The Franklin Press was returned to the Museum in the Patent Office Building until 1883, although The National Institute's twenty-year charter had expired in 1862 and most of their display items had been moved to The Smithsonian Institution in 1858. The Patent Office Museum was a major tourist attraction for several decades following 1842 and was often described in travel books of the day, both in the United States and abroad. The display rooms were remodelled in 1883-4 and used thereafter only for the display of patent models, a practice discontinued in 1925.

The Franklin Press was moved to The National Museum of The Smithsonian Institution in 1883.[24] John B. Murray, wealthy Wall Street banker, apparently retained ownership of the Franklin Press until his death in 1889, age 71.[22] The Franklin Press was purchased in 1901 by the government, presumably from the estate of John B. Murray in the hands of his second wife, Felicia who was a teen-age girl at the time of her marriage to Murray, age 68. One lasting monument to John B. Murray is the present day American Gas Journal of Dallas, Texas, which he founded in 1859 as The Gas-Light Journal in New York City.

England's Franklin Press may be viewed today as a treasured relic in the Division of History at The Smithsonian Institution, a United States Government instrumentality at Washington, originally endowed by an Englishman of great wealth. The writer believes it is actually the printing press at which Franklin worked in London, but is quick to grant that proving it would be a terrific assignment. It is equally easy to believe it was the model -- or at least the idealogical concept -- used by the die

engraver for the Franklin Press token.

Acknowledgements

The help of many institutions and persons was enlisted to secure the far-flung bits of data here presented. Included among those "out-of-town" who provided book loans, microfilm, photographs, translations, searching service or manuscript review were The British Museum, B. A. Seaby, Ltd. and C. Wilson Peck of London; The Smithsonian Institution, The Library of Congress, and the United States Patent Office in Washington; The American Philosophical Society, The Franklin Institute, The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, and The Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; The American Numismatic Society, The New York Public Library, and The Romance Languages Department of Columbia University at New York City; Eric P. Newman of St. Louis; John M. Willem, Jr., Chicago; George Fuld of Brookline, Massachusetts; Howard H. Kurth of Schenectady; and former ANA Librarian and lakeside philosopher Charles W. Foster of Rushville, New York. Whatever elements of historical firmness are apparent in this story of the Franklin Press and its token were made possible by the competence and enthusiasm of these major and minor contributors.

REFERENCES

(Preferably on the same page where first referenced; may be grouped at end of article if necessary.)

1. Arthur W. Waters, Notes on Eighteenth Century Tokens, London, 1954; page V. This book is the authority for much of the historical data on this subject throughout the article.

2. Sir John Craig, The Mint, Cambridge, 1953. This magnificent book is the source of much historical data in this article regarding all forms of English copper coinage in the eighteenth century. See "Copper" references indexed under "Metals Coined".

3. Mendel L. Peterson, "Eighteenth Century Imitations of Regal Copper Coins", The Numismatist, April - June, 1956; Volume 69, No. 4-6, pp 386, 546, 658. In America, these evasive imitations were called "bungtown coppers".

4. Neil Carothers, Fractional Money, New York, 1930; pp 43, 71.

5. Charles Pye, Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, issued between the years 1787 and 1796, Birmingham, 1801 (Not 1795 Edition). This is the best contemporary token book for historical information, and is extensively cited by later authors. For example; Longman, p 15 (Ref. 15 below) quotes Pye regarding the item from the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1794.

6. H. W. Dickinson, Matthew Boulton, Cambridge, 1937; p 135 is an example of the undue emphasis on "scarcity" of coppers.

7. Sylvester S. Crosby, The Early Coins of America, 1875, p 345.

8. Richard Dalton and Samuel H. Hamer, Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1910 - 1917.

9. Charles Pye, Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, Birmingham, 1795.

10. Samuel Birchall, Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the years 1786 and 1796, 1796.

11. James Conder, An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medalets, issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, within the last twenty years: from the Farthing to the Penny Size, Ipswich, 1798.

12. Craig, Ref. 2, p 254, for bulk sale of tokens at 60 per cent of face.

13. C. Wilson Peck of London contributed the following list of tokens bearing the "Asylum" edge marking, identified by D & H numbers. Varieties marked (*) were coined by William Lutwyche of Birmingham. Lancashire 40, 59a (Kentucky Pyramid token), 120a*; Middlesex 227a, 243 & 244 (G. Washington), 287*, 289a*, 307 (Franklin Press), 351a,*, 359*, 982b, 1052b (G. Washington); Anglesea, Wales, 430a*; and Wicklow, Ireland 40. The Kentucky Token and the three Washington tokens are all in Crosby, Ref. 7, p 343, 359-361.

14. Craig, Ref. 2, p 163; Castaing machine.

15. W. Longman, Tokens of the Eighteenth Century connected with Booksellers and Bookmakers. . . , London, 1916; p 33. See also William Blades, Numismata Typographica, London, 1883, pp120, 137-9.

16. Charles Henry Timperley, A Dictionary of Printers and Printing . . ., London, 1839; p 714 and footnote. See also Henry Robert Plomer, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, 1726 - 1775, London, 1932.

17. Concerning Cox & Bayliss, Longman (Ref. 15, p 33) refers to Charles Henry Timperley, Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote . . ., London, 1842. See also Arthur W. Waters, Notes Gleaned from Contemporary Literature &c Respecting the Issuers of

the Eighteenth Century Tokens Struck for the County of Middlesex. . .,
Leamington Spa, 1906; p 20.

18. Concerning Cox & Son, see Timperley, Ref. 16, p 767 and footnote.

19. Rev. Hugh M'Neile, A Lecture on the Life of Dr. Franklin, Liverpool, 1841, contains a letter from J. L. Cox dated Sept. 10, 1841, describing Franklin's revisitation of the Franklin Press; see also Prefacatory Note by John B. Murray.

20. London Post Office Directory, 1829.

21. R. P. Tolman, "Printing Presses of Past Days in the U. S. National Museum," American Printer, April 5, 1925. Tolman was one-time Assistant Curator of Graphic Arts in the U. S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

22. James M. Crafts, The Crafts Family, Northampton, Mass., 1893; p 371 is concerned with John B. Murray. See also The New York Times, Oct. 5, 1889, "Aged Mr. Murray's Death."

23. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, has retained manuscript letters and minute books which, over the period Aug. 28, to Nov. 13, 1841, record John B. Murray's first proposal to send them the Franklin Press and their refusal due to the conditions specified.

24. Regarding the National Institute and The National Museum, see Tolman, Ref. 21; also George B. Goode, ed., The Smithsonian Institution 1846 - 1896: The History of Its First Half Century, Washington, 1897; also Paul H. Oehser, Sons of Science, New York, 1949.

25. "Outline of the History of the United States Patent Office," Journal of the Patent Office Society, Vol. 18, No. 7, Chapter 12, pp 131-139; July, 1936.

CAPTIONS FOR PICTURES

The Franklin Press Token. (Courtesy, The American Numismatic Society.)

Contemporary Picture of the Franklin Press Token in The Virtuoso's Companion. Photograph Shows Top and Bottom of Plate 21, Dated September 21, 1795. (Courtesy, ANS)

The Franklin Press, Complete with Brass Historical Marker Plate, in 1841 was set up briefly in Liverpool, England, to Print its Own History and its own Picture (above) from a Copper-Plate Engraving. (From Rev. Hugh M'Neile's A Lecture on the Life of Dr. Franklin, November 17, 1841. Courtesy, The Library of Congress.)

The Franklin Press as it Appears Today. This Photograph was Furnished by The Smithsonian Institution via the late Stuart Mosher, former Smithsonian Associate Curator, Division of Numismatics, and Editor Emeritus of The Numismatist.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Raymond H. Williamson of Liverpool, New York, has been a General Electric electronics engineer since 1928 and is now the Manager of Engineering Administration, for their radio communication equipment design section at Electronics Park, Syracuse. His numismatic specialties are U. S. large copper cents and early American coinage history.

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
October 7, 1956

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

There is enclosed what I hope is my final effort on The Franklin Press Token. I airmailed copies last night to Bradfield in Chicago and to Seaby. It may be in the Numismatist in December and in Seaby's Bulletin some time after that.

Your suggestions re scarcity of coppers (or the plenty) were certainly in order, and I'm very glad you made them, even if the whole article did haveto be done over as a result! You will note that I went "whole hog" on the thing, even arriving at different answers than before. I'm convinced of the correctness of your statements without further explanation by now. I should have looked in Carothers sooner and in Craig more carefully.

Both the Numismatist and Seaby are likely to cut the article; I've given them both marked copies which show where they can cut a total of maybe 2-1/2 pages without destroying continuity.

This was a case of having too much material. In the hecto copy enclosed for you, there is maybe two percent of the material I dug up trying to check facts -- still without getting the important ones only as fairly well-educated guesses.

Please speak up if you see anything grossly out of line -- which by now I doubt will happen. Believe I've eliminated the apologetic air of the first hecto version -- which in retrospect would have needed some apologies if it had reached print. Thanks for your help, in many ways.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

October 10, 1956

Mr. Ray Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

The revised article on the Franklin Press token is superb.

There are two items which I feel should be corrected. On page 1, the second sentence can be misleading as it might be construed to refer to the Franklin Press tokens rather than English Eighteenth Century tokens as a whole.

On page 5 you mention A. H.Baldwin of A. H. Baldwin & Sons. I believe this is incorrect as the original A.H. Baldwin is dead. Perhaps you talked to Albert Baldwin or Fred Baldwin. Fred Baldwin is the one who has the collection.

Incidentally, if you want Seaby to publish your article the reference to the Baldwin firm would not be tops in public relations.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

EPN/atb

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
October 16, 1956

Mr. Eric P. Newman
c/o Edison Brothers Stores, Inc.
400 Washington Ave.,
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

Thanks for your kind words concerning the Franklin Press article.

I phoned the ANS today and determined from their guest book that the Baldwin with whom I talked in their library on October 5, 1955 registered as "A. H. F. Baldwin", who also appears in the ANA Directory; this must be the Albert Baldwin of your letter.

Your suggested corrections plus a few others -- all fairly minor -- were then phoned to Bradfield in Chicago, only to find the material had already gone to the printer. He will try to catch it. I'm also getting the corrections off to Seaby tonight.

Best regards, and again, Thanks!

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

[Complete copy of letter of June 28, 1781 from John Bradford, Continental Agent at Boston, to Samuel Huntington, member of Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Manuscript in National Archives, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, Record Group 11, Item 78, Vol. IV, pages 225-226.]

Boston 28th June 1781

Sir

I am honoured with your Excellency's Letter Respecting the delivery of all the Duck in my possession to the order of the quartermaster General. I have accordingly delivered one hundred and thirteen Bales Russia Duck, Reserving four hundred peices for the use of the Navy, which no doubt the hon.ble Congress supposed when they passed that resolve to deliver the whole, that the Navy Board had their Supply agreeable to a former order given by the Admiralty[.] But the Board to Save the Expense of portage left it with me, to take it as they had occasion for it.

I beg leave to mention to your Excellency that we have a large quantity of rough Copper laying in the Stores upwards of two years, it has always been supposed that it was sent with a design to mix with other metals for the purpose of Casting Brass Cannon, it is a sort of copper in so rough a State, as has not been seen among us, I have had the Opinion of several of our most ingenious artisans respecting the quality of it, who all were of the same sentiment, that it was scarcely worth the freight. But two days ago I had an Essay made by a Mr. Dudley, and we find it to be the purest Copper, he melted down about two pounds into three ingots, and we find no dross among it. Mr. Dudley assures me he can Roll it into Sheets of any thickness and Can either harden or soften it. we find it to be very malleable, he tells me that if Congress shou'd see meet to Strike of [sic] a parcel of Coppers for a Currency he Can make the Apparatus and go through the whole process. This gentleman comes to America highly recommended as a warm friend to our cause and being possessed of a most uncommon extensive genius. A Doctor Peirce who was his patron left London with him to Come over via France in Order to bring over some Arts unknown to us, but the Doctor was advertised and a large reward offered to Stop him for taking Mr. Dudley out of the kingdom, they but Just escaped being taken. The Character of both those Gentlemen are known to my son as being acquainted with them ten months in France. The Doctor is waiting a favourable Opportunity to get to America. Mr. Dudley has already given such proofs of his ingenuity that I view him as an important acquisition to this infant nation, and hope he will meet with encouragement.

I have the Honour to be with Sentiments of the highest Respect

Your Excellency's
Most humble and Obedient Servant
John Bradford

His excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq.

[Copy of entry for July 17, 1781, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Wrote Mr. Bradford respecting Mr. Dudley. [Letter not located.]

[Copy of entry for July 16, 1781, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

/Copy of entry for July 16, 1781, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

Wrote to Mr. Dudley at Boston inviting him hither in consequence of the Continental Agent (Morris') Mr. Bradford's Letter respecting him referred to me by Congress. /Letter not located. John Bradford's June 28 letter was read in Congress on July 9; the part of it concerning copper was referred to Robert Morris, Sup't of Finance./

- -

/Complete copy of letter of Sept. 5, 1781 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Rev. Dr. William Gordon, Boston. Manuscript in Robert Morris Papers (Official letterbooks), Library of Congress, Washington, D. C./

Office of Finance

I have received your Favor of the twenty third of August enclosing a letter from Mr. Dudley. /Neither letter located./ I am much obliged by your kind and polite attention for which I pray leave to return you my Thanks. The sooner Mr. Dudley comes forward the sooner will have an opportunity or /sic/ remedying the State of his Finances which now calls for that Interposition of Mr. Bradford and yourself which you have been so kind as to Promise.

Should you come to this City as you seem to have determined It will give me a very particular Pleasure to see you and Personally to make my Acknowlegements /sic/ for your Favors. RM

- -

/Complete copy of letter of Sept. 5, 1781 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Benjamin Dudley, Boston. Manuscript is in Robert Morris Papers (Official letterbooks), Library of Congress, Washington, D. C./

I am favored with your letter of the twentieth of August last. There are many reasons why I wish rather to see you as soon as you can conveniently come forward than at a later Period. I am therefore to request that you not delay your Journey longer than may be absolutely necessary. /Dudley's Aug. 20, 1781 letter not located./

- -

/Complete copy of letter of Sept. 11, 1781 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Rev. Dr. William Gordon, Boston. Manuscript is in Robert Morris Papers (official letterbooks), Library of Congress, Washington, D. C./

I have the Pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the twenty ninth of August last /not located/ - relating to Mr. Dudley. Tench Francis Esq. the Bearer of this Letter who is charged with the Care of conducting the Money late arrived at Boston to this City will also take care of Mr. Dudley and defray his Expenses hither. I shall be glad if Mr. Dudley will come with him and afford his Assistance in protecting the Treasure.

With very great respect I have the Honor to be -- RM

- -

[Complete copy of letter of Sept. 11, 1781 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Benjamin Dudley, Boston. Manuscript is in Robert Morris Papers (Official Letterbooks), Library of Congress.]

If you should not have left Boston before this reaches you I shall be glad that you will come with Tench Francis Esqr. who is the bearer of it and who is directed to defray your Expenses hither.

As the Business on which I want to confer with you is important and will not admit of Delay, I hope to see you speedily. RM

- -

[Complete copy of letter of Sept. 11, 1781 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Tench Francis, Philadelphia. Manuscript is in Robert Morris Papers (Official Letterbooks), Library of Congress.]

Enclosed you have two Letters, the one for Doct. Gordon, and the other for Mr. Benjamin Dudley. I pray you to enquire at Mr. Bradfords in Boston the Means of conveying these Letters and having read be pleased to seal and send them.

Should Mr. Dudley think proper to come on with you, you will provide him with a Horse Saddle &C and defray his expences on the Road. He will probably be useful to you in putting up the Money as he is an excellent Mechanick and may therefore strike out Hints on the Subject which would escape others. I hope you may find him a useful, agreable [sic] and entertaining Companion on the Road.

- -

[Extract from "Records of the General Accounting Office, Register's Office," Record Group 217, National Archives. Ledger "B" under date of Oct. 17, 1782 contains the following entry; parenthetical material inserted from neighboring context.]

Benjamin Dudley
For his Receipt dated Boston October 13th (1781) for
Seventy Six Crowns - = to 84 40
(Meaning $84-40/90)

- -

[Copy of entry for Nov. 6, 1781, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Major Nichols arrived last night from Boston with a letter from Tench Francis Esqr. [not located] whom he left with the Treasure about sixteen miles from the City and as he will be in this day I wrote orders for Mr. Francis to deliver the Money to Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer and Orders to the latter to receive the same and hold it to my Order only. [No mention of Dudley's arrival.]

- -

[Copy of entry for Nov. 10, 1781, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Ordered some money on application of Mr. Dudley to pay his expences. Issued a Warrant on Mr. Swanwick in favor of Mr. Dudley £15·19·3

- -

[Copy of entry for Jan. 7, 1782, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Mr. Dudley applies about getting his wife from England. I promised him every assistance in my power.

- -

[Complete copy of letter of Jan. 23, 1782 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Richard Yates, New York City (in British hands.)] M/S is in Robert Morris Papers (Official Letterbooks), DLC.

At the request of a very honest Man who seems much distressed for the welfare of his wife, now in London, I beg to trouble you with the enclosed Letter, [~~not located~~] praying that you will forward it, and if in consequence thereof Mrs. Dudley should come to New York, I beg of you to procure Liberty for her to come to her Husband at this place. The money for her Passage and reasonable expenses in New York, which must be reasonable as possible, she may draw upon her Husband, Mr. Benjamin Dudley, and I engage that the Draft shall be paid. I shall thank you for your attention to this poor Lady when she arrives, and remain, Sir, . . . Robert Morris.

- -

[Copy of entry for May 20, 1782, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Mr. Dudley wrote me a Letter [not located] this day and wanted money. I directed ~~him~~ Mr. Swanwick to supply him, and then desired him to view the Masons' Lodge to see if it would Answer for a Mint, which he thinks it will, I desired him to go up to Mr. Wheelers to see how he goes on with the Rollers &c.

-6- -

[Copy of entry for July 15, 1782, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia.]

Mr. B. Dudley applied for money, he is very uneasy for want of employment, and the Mint in which he is to be employed and for which I have engaged him, goes on so slowly that I am also uneasy at having this gentleman on pay and no work for him. He offered to go and assist Mr. Byers to establish the Brass Cannon Foundry at Springfield. I advised to make that proposal to Genl. Lincoln and inform me the result tomorrow.

- -

[Complete copy of letter of July 25, 1782 from Robert Morris, Office of Finance, Philadelphia, to Rev. William Gordon, D. D., Boston. Manuscript is in Robert Morris Papers (Official Letterbooks), Library of Congress.]

In consequence of your Letter of the nineteenth of June, [not located] I sent for Mr. Dudley, told him the information you had so kindly given to me, and assured him of my desire to make him easy and happy. The Business in which he is intended to be employed, is like many other important matters, retarded by the tediousness of the States in supplying the Continental Treasury.

The Hon'able Secretary at War has commenced a correspondence with General Gates at my request, which I think will produce what he wishes. Be assured that I take particular pleasure in promoting the interest and happiness of worthy men, and that I am with great esteem Sir, . .RM.

- -

/Copy of entry for Sept. 3, 1782, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

Mr. B. Dudley applied for a passage for his Friend Mr. Sprague, pr. the Washington to France & for Mrs. Dudley back. Mr. Wheeler applied for money which I promised inx a short time.

- -

/Copy of entry for April 2, 1783, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

I sent for Mr. Dudley who delivered me a piece of Silver Coin, being the first that has been struck as an American Coin. /Actually they were unauthorized patterns, and they followed the pewter dollars of 1776./

- -

/Copy of entry for ~~xxxxxxx~~ Aug. 19, 1783, In Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

I sent for Mr. Benjamin Dudley, and informed him of my doubts about the establishment of a Mint and desired him to think of some employment in private service, in which I am willing to assist him all in my power. I told him to make out an account for the services he had performed for the public, and submit at the Treasury Office for inspection and settlement.

- -

/Copy of entry for Nov. 21, 1783, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

Mr. Dudley applies for money. He says he was at half a guinea a week and his expenses borne when he left Boston to come about the Mint, and he thinks the public ought to make that good to him. I desired him to write me and I will state his claims to Congress.

- -

/Copy of entry for Jan. 7, 1784, in Diary in Office of Finance, Robert Morris, Philadelphia./

Mr. Dudley after the settlement of his account, which I completed by signing a warrant.

- -

/Extract from Thomas Jefferson's Journal of May 7, 1784, which summarizes a letter (not located) from Jefferson at Annapolis to (probably Benjamin) Dudley; papers of TJ, Vol. 7, p 224./

Dudley. That I have sent on 2d pr. spectacles to Virgq. -- he may expect the 1st or the money in a fortnight.

- -

Other letters cited in Papers of Thomas Jefferson mentioning Dudley, but not by his first name, as a maker of spectacles:

May 7, 1784, TJ to James Madison ~~xxxxxx~~ (p 228)
May 8, 1784, TJ to James Madison (p 231)
May 13, 1784, James Madison to his father, Rev. James Madison. (p 228)
May 15, 1784, James Madison to TJ (p 258)

- -

/Extract from letter from Francis Hopkinson, Philadelphia, to Thomas Jefferson, May 12, 1784, in Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 7, p 245./

(Long letter soliciting Thomas Jefferson's help in obtaining the Mint Superintendency for Hopkinson, if & when a Mint should be established; states that Robert Morris had marked out this station for him. On recipient's copy in the Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress the following statement was first written by Hopkinson, then deleted by drawing a line through the words:)

We have a Machine here already constructed by Mr. Dudley for the Purpose by Order of Mr. /Robert/ Morris. (Reference is to a coining press.)

- -

Beyond this date, I have found nothing.

In the above quotations concerning Dudley, I have tried to include those on his personal inter-relationships rather than the many numismatic items.

The story of the Treasure Caravan is quite an item, believed to be available only in manuscript. The salient facts will now be given, since they involve Massachusetts history.

In 1780 Ben Franklin in Paris wangled an outright gift from the French king, Louis XVI, of French crowns equal in value to Spanish $462,505-45/90. On May 26, 1780, this treasure was remitted as 2083 bags of silver crowns by Vaughn & Le Moine of Brest. This shipment is also in the amount of 2,500,000 livres. The road to Brest was so rough that two of the double money casks broke open en route. Col. John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens of South Carolina (former President of Continental Congress) had been sent by Congress to France for military supplies and anything he could get his hands on. He arrived in Brest in mid-March 1781. He sailed from Brest on The Resolve (Capt. Monsr le Chevalier de Langle) on June 1, 1781 . They did not reach Boston until August 25, having been so long at sea they were feared lost. They had the treasure on board. Louis XVI had directed that the gift be placed in the hands of George Washington for his personal disposition, but Congress turned it over to Robert Morris, Financier. On Sept. 11, R. Morris wrote a very long letter to Tench Francis (he became 1st Cashier of the Bank of North America on Nov. 1, 1781). The letter directed Francis to proceed at once to Boston, skirting British-held New York, and bring the treasure back to Philadelphia. The sum was so large that Francis was directed to count a sample quantity and weigh the rest when he gave his receipt. R. Morris recommended the following route for returning the treasure: "From Boston to Worchester to Springfield to Greenwood to Salisbury to FiskKill to New Windsor or Newburgh to Sussex Court House or Newton to Easton to Philadelphia." General Heath was to supply an armed guard. To afford greater secrecy, they should state their return route as: Springfield to Claverack to Rhinebeck to Esopus to Minisink to Easton. At Boston, Francis was directed to "Have strong square boxes made of Oak Boards to contain about fifteen hundred to two thousand Crowns each and have large strong Chests made of thick Oak plank of such Shape as may be most properand of Size to contain about twenty of the lesser boxes. These larger Chests had best be fixed on the Axell of an Ox Cart from which the Body has been previously removed. They should when closed be strongly strapped about with Iron. Four oxen led by one horse will then draw it with Ease. The Axle, wheels and Tongue of the Carts should be very strong and good because the Roads . . are very rough." There must have been 10 wagons to carry the 27,100 lb. advp. of silver crowns over the back roads. Francis sold the 56 oxen, 12 horses and sundry articles at auction in Philadelphia on Nov. 17, 1781 for $2836-63/90. The treasure went in the Bank of North America.

R.H. Williamson

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
February 18, 1957

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Mr. Newman:

You should be exceedingly proud of the several substantial contributions to American numismatics, as evidenced by your recent publications. These include:

"Coinage for Colonial Virginia," ANS Notes & Monographs 135.

"Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coins," December Numismatist.

"Franklin and the Bank of North America," December Numismatist.

"Counterfeit Continental Currenty Goes to War," Jan. Numismatist.

The first is possibly the best, but they are all superb! I suppose you've had only a few letters resulting from all this effort. However, judging from comments at our local coin club, the stuff is read and appreciated more widely than one would sometimes think. For whatever satisfaction there may be in it, such material as yours will be cited as pioneering and authoritative 50 and 100 years hence!

The second and final section of my wheeze on "The Franklin Press Token of 1794" came today; Seaby's Bulletin for February. They set it up with great care, used my material nearly verbatim and generally did a good job, altho I could have wished better treatment of the photos.

I understand from C. Wilson Peck of London that you have exchanged letters with him. He has worked nearly nine years on the English copper issues of the same period as you are covering for the American issues, and has much trouble with restrikes from original dies. I do not feel he is as strong on his background history as you are in your field, however, You will recall that I was eventually glad to go along with your correction re regal coppers not being scarce, but were relatively unacceptable because of lightness in weight. After I released my material for publication , I discovered that Peck had written up this story diametrically opposite in H. A. Seaby's book "Eighteenth Century Tradesmen's Tokens," pp 86-90. He stressed scarcity, but hasn't squawked at my presentation; in fact he applauded in a general way.

I have a letter of Oct. 18 from "Fred Baldwin" of 20, Coval Gardens, London, S.W.14, who (as you say) is the one with the collection. I have the initials wrong in two different ways in The Numismatist and in the Bulletin. Also the motto translation is wrong; maybe I'll send a letter to the Editor some time. His Franklin Press token with the "milled"edge has reeds sloping to the right \\\\ and a die flaw

more pronounced than any he has seen, including many hundreds in his own collection. He also has a regular specimen in perfect mint red.

Incidentally, the British Museum's Newspaper Library supplied (too late) the missing reference to what D&H call the "Bazaar Notes" so many times without really identifying it. It was a newspaper, The Bazaar, the Exchange and Mart, and it tied the Franklin Press token to Watt's Printing Office in the July 5, 1882 issue, p 18. I believe this is the first appearance of what I believe to be erroneous information.

There is enclosed a six-page wheeze of quotes from source material on Benjamin Dudley. I started to type it in 1954 and finished it yesterday! I sent it to the Massachusetts Historical Society seeking additional information. You may keep it and use it as you see fit. I've sent you quite a bit of the material before.

We've been going through such upheavals where I work I haven't had nearly as much time for numismatics as I'd like. I'm in the throes of finishing up the fourth try at a 1957 budget for over two million dollars worth of Engineering. We are the outfit who were going to reloaate at Gainesville, Florida this year, and now are not going to do so. This is the first annual budget I ever got mixed up with where one month of it was history when completed.

Hope you can drop by and run thru my index cards before you go to press with your book on copper coins. I know you have data in depth, but the sources are so far flung, disorganized and unindexed that it is conceivable I might have a few worth-while items you could use.

Why don't you stop in for a couple of days some time? I'm near Syracuse, which is on the main line of the NY Central, American Airlines etc. The latch string is out.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

Encl. re Dudley

February 27, 1957

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

Your words of kindness with respect to my recent writings are most appreciated. I will say that I received many more comments than I expected and even got a criticism from the British Museum based upon an alleged misstatement in an article and followed up by an apology that my statement was correct and that they were incorrect.

I enjoyed tremendously the 1781 material involving attempts to have coinage started in the United States. I will comment on it at a later date after studying it further.

I still have the material on early Federal coinage which you were nice enough to forward to me a couple of years ago. When we meet I would like to discuss with you the possibility of working out a publication covering this and additional other material.

I am sending under separate cover a reprint of my article on "Counterfeit Continental Currency Goes to War".

I have just submitted to Mr. Ingholt, at Yale University, an article on the Vermont coinage which I prepared for the Centennial issue of A.N.S. If this would be submitted officially to you as a committee member, then it would be wrong for me to submit the matter to you directly for your comments. If it is not submitted to you in that manner then I would like to send the article to you so that you can supply the helpful suggestions and thoughts which you were kind enough to do on my Virginia work. Merely let me know how you feel about the source of the submittal of the article.

I certainly look forward to meeting you in the very near future as we have so much in common. I graduated from M.I.T. but have never practiced engineering.

February 27,1957

My files, like yours, are loaded with material and I am only too glad to help others. I am only sorry I helped you take a position which was opposite to Mr. Peck but I still think I am right. He, like Sir John Craig, seems to lack the experience of vigorous collecting.

The chances of you getting to St. Louis just as soon as I might get to Syracuse are certainly with the realm of possibility. While you say your latch string is out to me, I want you to know that we have no latch on our door.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN:atb

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
March 4, 1957

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.,
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Mr. Newman:

Many thanks for the reprint of your "Counterfeit Continental Currency Goes to War," per your letter of February 27.

Since I've not been approached for reviewing your article on the Vermont coinage, I'd be happy to recieve a copy directly from you. It is certain however that I won't be able to spend the man hours on any article in the next several months as I did on your Virginia material, pleasant as such work is. However, I will be happy to read it over and convey general impressions. I'm not sure of the meaning of your "Merely let me know how you feel about the source of the submittal of the article." Maybe I will when I see it.

Under separate cover, I'm sending you a copy of the hand-made "Source Book of American Numismatics." The cover states that it is put together by "Breen & Williamson." The ANS had the cover and tabs for a while, but absolutely refused to do anything about organizing it. So I personally typed up five sets of cover labels, tabs, etc. and glued them on five G-E notebooks. They have a bastard hole-spacing dimension, but have the virtues of sturdiness and the ability to lay open on the table, by judicious adjustment of the little lever at the bottom. At the present rate, it will take until 1965 to fill up Volume I; maybe longer. I could contribute oceans of stuff if ANS would duplicate and distribute it, but they won't. This is my idea of disseminating information when a story is in the making, but is yet full of holes, to get help from others working in the same field. It is also to get some dissemination of partial stories which I (& others) might never get around to write up and publish in the ordinary lifetime. Breen has two copies (or did have), I have two and you have one. I have all the carbon-back masters, stacks of transparent blank formats and opaque blanks for drafts, bearing the same format; these all at personal expense. If you'd like some of the opaque ones, I'd be happy to send out a batch. Would you like to write up a numismatic biography or two?

Must close and do my G-E home-work! Best regards,.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

The CHRON. (chronology) tab is for non-numismatic history, to help place events properly.

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
March 11, 1957

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.,
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Mr. Newman:

Your March 8 letter relates a tragic misfortune -- Richard Kenney's death. I knew him a little at ANS and had much admiration for him and his work.

I've rapidly gone over your most excellent article on the Vermont Coppers tonight, and have marked it up as you suggest and return it herewith. Many of the scribblings are "nit picking" so please don't take them too seriously. I welcome such "nit picking" on my own material in the preliminary stage, and hope you do also.

My wife and I both have both parents living, and both of us received word within a week that all is not well at Scotia, NY and Eagle Grove, Iowa, so both are "on call." So if I don't get this off now -- ahead of income tax, even -- I don't know when it will be done. My father is 93 this month and is pretty old and tired.

There is one item which <u>may</u> be extremely important to your article. I'll try to lead you to source material and let you draw your own conclusions.

You state on p1: "Tory feeling had long since faded away with the recognition by England of American independence in 1783." By sheer coincidence, I have a book home from Syr Pub Library (looking unsuccessfully for letters re Jean-Pierre Droz) that seems to disagree with your statement and document the disagreement pretty well. The book is "Jay's Treaty" by Samuel Flagg Bemis, NY 1923. I urge you very strongly to get it, and read the pages referenced to "Vermont" in the excellent index. Re the Vermont Separatists, it repetitively references American Historical Review, XXI, 547; ibid XXI, 555 and VII, 705; also Canadian Archives, Ottawa, Transcripts from England, Series Q (~~Lower~~ Upper Canada), Vol 45-1, pp 16-24 and Vol. 45-2, pp 532. I'll quote enuf to arrouse your interest:

p 17 - See next page, FIRST

p 18 "England similarly intrigued with the Allen brothers of Vermont, which until 1791 considered itself a soveriegn independent state unattached to the United States though its territory was included within theboundaries recognized by the treaty of peace. To the Vermont separatists the British Government granted special commercial privileges for exports and imports by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, a much easier route to England than the cumbersome land carriage to the harbors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Thus the inhabitants of western and northern Vermont and northeastern New York were enabled to evade in part the restrictions of the English navigation laws encountered by the United States. The story of the intrigues of Ethan, Levi and Ira Allen with the British Government at Quebec and London and their efforts to use this economic dependence

The descendants of Ethan Allen (a lot of them) live in "Allen Holler" in Upstate N.Y., north of Sacandaga Lake. They are reported to be inbred & a wild lot who make their living by rattlesnake bounties. I've seen them square dancing at a "gin mill" on the North Shore of this lake. 3-11-57

of Vermont on Canada to achieve a political union hardly sustains the popular impression of the hero of Ticonderoga and his kin...."

FIRSTp 17. "One other factor we must not lose sight of in analyzing the frontier question as it existed at the installation of Washington's Administration. That is the relation to the British Government of the separatist parties of the rising young commonwealths of the American West, Kentucky and Tennessee, and of Vermont, which, though an older community, showed the political attributes and sectional interests common to the newer settlements of the West."

p 42 "(In 1788) The dissatisfaction of the Vermont separatists, who long since had been negotiating secretly with British representatives at Quebec....."

p53 "(In 1790) the occasion was considered opportune for extending a hand to the Vermont separatists, in whose interests the shrewd Green Mountain intriguer, Levi Allen, for some months past had been in London trying to negotiate a separate commercial treaty between Great Britain and the "sovereign" state of Vermont, a treaty which would provide for free trade with the province of Quebec. Allen....was looking forward (undoubtedly) to reunion with the British Empire. The British Government was not averse to a secession of Vermont...."

p125 "When Levi Allen was in London (1790) seeking favor for his scheme of a commerical treaty between Vermont and Great Britain as an "opening wedge" to a future political union, Simcoe (first governor of Upper Canada -- Ontario -- beginning May 16, 1791) intrigued for the success of Allen's plans, for his war experience had led him to recognize their value. He had some personal influence with Grenville (British Secy for Foreign Affairs), for we find him suggesting to the latter the bribing of the Vermont legislature to prevent that state from joining the American Union and upsetting the calculations of the separatists. Though perhaps there exists no conclusive documentary evidence (and it is unlikely that such evidence would survive) the sources of this intrigue afford strong suspicion that Allen actually brought British gold back to Vermont and was unsuccessful only because he arrived two days after the legislature of the state had ratified the constitution."

p 353 (Bibliography) "Both the Upper Canada and the Lower Canada documents are calendared by the late Archivist of the Dominion, Dr. Douglas Brymner, particularly in 'Reports on Canadian Archives' for 1890 and 1891, a work of greatest aid to the student in searching out from this mass of documents those relating to his subject. Dr. Brymner in introductions to these two annual Reports has printed copious extracts from some of the more important documents. A few documents relating to Vermont are printed in Note C. in the introduction to the Report for 1889. There are some documents, however, which are most important to the student of the frontier diplomacy, which are merely mentioned in the Calendar, without summary of their contents....Hence it is not always possible to use the Calendar as an infallible guide."

That's all. Good luck! Time to retire. Best regards.

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N. Y.
March 17, 1957

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Mr. Newman:

Re the Vermont coppers -- could they (some of them) have been propaganda pieces attempting to fool backwoods, semi-literate people into believing Vermont had already gone back to George III?

Could they have been intended to fool Indians in the same way? This afternoon I chased a footnote in S. F. Bemis' "Jay's Treaty" (n 41, p 15) over to the Syracuse Univ Library and found W. L. Stone's "Life of Joseph Brany -- Thayendanegea", (NY 1838), V 2 p 267-8, which Quotes a letter of March 22, 1787, from Sir John Johnson, Quebec to Captain Joseph Brant (educated Mohawk Chief); Johnson was Indian Superintendent for the British. "...and the people of New England, who were the most violent at the commencement of the war, are now the most desirous of returning under the British government, should Great Britain incline to receive them, which many think they would not." Bemis says he meant the intrigues of the Vermont separatist party. Vermont at this time claimed the land between Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario in addition to the territory of this state today, and considered herself pretty much a free agent, although all her territory was within the area of the United States, per the 1783 treaty with the British.

I'm probably reaching for the sensational in bringing this up, but if it were true, it would be a honey of a yarn, wouldn't it?

Suppose you've located Rupert on the modern map; its location doesn't seem particularly significant to me, unless it was convenient for state-line hopping; I'm not sure if the state line was so nearby in the 1780's. Incidentally the modern town is spelled with a single "p". It is in low mountains, and certainly off the beaten path, even today, altho it has for many years been on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad.

Happy hunting, and best regards.

Sincerely
Ray Williamson
Raymond H. Williamson

March 25, 1957

Mr. Raymond Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Mr. Williamson:

You certainly saved me from making a very grave error. I made the mistake of believing a writer whom I should not have believed. I certainly appreciate your going over my manuscript and I have made many revisions based upon your suggestions.

I also see that you have been assisting in "The History of the Early Silver Dollars of the United States" and of the trade dollar, a portion of which is published in the recent Scrapbook.

Since I have to leave town for a few days I just wanted to get this letter to you to thank you for your help and to thank you also for the source book. I will have many items to contribute to the source book and hope those will be of value to all concerned.

My kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, N.Y.
March 27, 1957

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Your note of March 25 is appreciated.

I urge you get acquainted with this fellow John Willem. He has come further in substantial knowledge of U. S. numismatics in less time than anyone I've ever known. He joined the ANA in 1948, ANS in 1956. He served on the Assay Commission last month. He has visited the Mint at Mexico City. He is doing a magnificent piece of research on his Trade Dollar book; it is difficult to figure his motivation. He surely started from scratch. I answered his item in the Dec 1955 Scrapbook re trade-dollar research, and referred him to Carothers and some of Carothers references. He has discovered two bonafide errors in Carothers, something I was never able to do. He has visited Carothers, who gave him one of his two remaining copies of Fractional Money. I told him about the ANS and their library of which he had never heard, but is now a regular borrower. I led him to American State Papers, AJN, Ridell, Intl Monetary Conf of 1878, etc. He is a VP of the J. Walter Thompson Company, advertising agency with Chicago office in the Wrigley Bldg. His coin collecting was originally at least a part of an investment program, but I believe the bug has bit and bit hard. He is on the road a lot -- right now staying at the Minneapolis Club "away from family and business interruptions" for a few open evenings so he can continue to make some headway on his writing. I got him an appointment with Breen on one of his New York trips -- rather I gave him Breen's address -- and he nearly blew a fuse, but is hiring Breen for some Archives research I understand. (By the way I triggered Breen into an interest in the Archives Research -- referred him to the wealth of material in the State Dep't Archives from Italy while he was down there in Washington.) He has Carothers and others reviewing his manuscript. He has the legal department of his company interested in making a test case to see if the Trade Dollar is again legal tender as a result of the Thomas Amendment of June 5, 1933. He has very recently bought the complete library of the late Charles Green, Chicago coin dealer for around $3000. What a guy! Mrs. Norweb should get him on her committee. Haven't met him!

Since I seem to be wandering, I'll wander some more. Breen told me last November he planned to go to Yale Grad School beginning Sept 1957 with a view to Ph.D., then M.D. Also "Sheldon is finally getting down to business on the cent book supplement." and Breen is in search of a financial angel for his half-cent book.

Now for the real reason for writing -- to share something I just ran across re Edme Jacques Genet, presumably the Edmond Jacques Genet at the top of page 1365 in your Dec 1956 Numismatist article "Poor Richard's Mottoes for Coins." He was the father of "Citizen" Genet, Minister

Plenipotentiary from Revolutionary France to the United States in 1793. Both father & son were linguists, and seemed to be in the center of a web of spies and counter-spies familiar to Franklin. I'm sure you'll be interested to read about them in a book on Citizen Genet strangely titled "Jefferson -- Friend of France." It achieves suspense and drama by a scholarly understating of the situation. It has an extensive bibliography, but individual quotes are not referenced to anything in particular. Genet's very adverse opinion of Washington at his first meeting has a couple of items in it which will interest you, and will now be quoted -- Wish I could state the source; Swiggett also refers to them without specific citation in his Gouverneur Morris book; I have tried without success to get the reference from the DLC.

(p 208 of Meade Minnigerode's 1928 book "Jefferson -- Friend of France."

He (Genet) had presented his credentials on May 18, and on that same day Jefferson took him to the President, and "here the scene changes." Medallions of the French Royal family on the wall, and a formal, chilly reception, "perfectly neutral and insignificant" -- so it seemed to Genet, who, at that, could not have been expecting the magnificent Washington to fall into his arms. . .

(p 210) He was accused of having put his servants in livery, of having permitted the Senate to decree that the coinage of the United States should bear his effigy. He was the first man in America who had dared "to flaunt a carriage with six horses, a very imprudent step, I might say almost criminal in a country from which luxury should be banished and in which men and horses are wanted for agriculture.". . .

I got this book in hope to find some more on Droz. I fully believe (because I want to!) that the medallions were the missing Ecu de Calonne patterns of 1786 (Louis XVI) for which Jefferson paid 9f in Paris on 7 Jan 1787 and which were sent as "Drost" (Droz) samples to Congress by David S. Franks "in the hope that Congress would negotiate with Droz for removing to America and untertake coinage there." See "Papers of TJ" by Julian Boyd, Ed., Vol VII p xxxi.

By the way, Julian Boyd sent me a batch of prints of the Nova Constellatio silver patterns in 1953 for helping him on the Robert Morris material etc. in his Vol. VII. I'm sending most of them on to you herewith; if you are interested, you can easily get the title material on pages xxvii--xxviii of Julian Boyd's Vol VII.

I see by the ad on p 506 of the March Scrapbook that you are heavily involved in the April 26-28 Convention of the Missouri Numismatic Society. Nice going! Hope you have strong bars and insurance, because someone might not know these items couldn't be peddled successfully.

Best regards, and enuf for this time. When are you coming east again?

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

September 6, 1957

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Ray:

Your letter of September 1, 1957 was a good needling. However, I was familiar with Sigler and his articles in The Coin Collectors' Journal and saw no reason to cite his comments on Virginia coinage as he copied them straight from Tatman. Most of his work is mere copy work from the books in the Congressional Library and much of it is very inaccurate. I am glad that you saw his Vermont article cited the Hickcox comment about Vermont's association with the British. This, again, was mere copy work.

At the St. Louis Convention of the Central States Numismatic Society I mentioned to the publishers of both The Numismatist and The Scrapbook, that the greatest contribution to American numismatics would be an index covering all publications. It is interesting that you arrived at the same conclusion.

Where are you getting your numismatic books? I very much want to complete my set of The Numismatist, The old Coin Collectors' Journal and The American Journal of Numismatics, etc. When I was in England, this summer, I filled in a few other items and saw our mutual friend, Seaby.

In my article on Vermont, which is being published in the Centennial edition, they set in type my preliminary draft instead of my final draft so that has to be done over again. Never a dull moment!

[redacted]

I'll be writing to you as soon as I can get out from under the mound of my regular work.

Sincerely,

EPN/atb

ERIC P. NEWMAN

September 18, 1957

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
103 Iroquois Lane
Liverpool, New York

Dear Ray:

I very sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in having Mr. Willem visit me. It was a very refreshing interlude to meet him. He has indicated that he will help me build up my library for further research and I look forward to hearing from him as to many of my needs. I hope you have an opportunity to wander in to St. Louis in similar fashion.

I have recently acquired a few notes issued in 1719 and 1720 in connection with the Mississippi Company of John Law. I had one of them for a long time and never could locate any one who had enough interest to even pay any attention to them. I think they are most intriguing.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

CC: Mr. John M. Willen, Vice President
J. Walter Thompson Company
410 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Ill.

August 25, 1959

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
933 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

On my return from Russia I received your nice letter of August 12, 1959 and I do appreciate the kind words in your book review.

My first desire, however, is to help you by stating that I have in my bank note collection two specimens of the Real Estate Bank of Arkansas, a $5 note of the Washington branch, and a $10 note of the Columbia branch. I am as strongly steeped in paper money as I am in coins.

My wife and I laughed endlessly at your quotation of your letter from Breen indicating that his "chick" was coming from Washington and that he was "going to have a way out ball". The immediate comment was is this "chick" a rooster or a hen?

I talked over with John Willem the matter of his book and I believe he will make an excellent contribution.

I wish some day that we would meet as I have so much to talk to you about.

Your nice comments concerning the Continental Dollar are most appreciated. At the present time I am working on the Connecticut Mint, where I have uncovered a lot of new material.

As to the book review of the Good Samaritan, I am a little embarrassed but the only changes I am making are in the

August 25, 1959

interest of clarification and I am enclosing a memorandum covering the changes.

I am very pleased at your using my enthusiasm to encourage others to do this type of work.

I will write you again as soon as I get out from under my mound of mail.

Cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

October 1, 1959

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

I again must express my appreciation for your book review of my Good Samaritan publication. Even my children have a little more respect for me now.

I am giving the fall lecture at the American Numismatic Society on Saturday afternoon, November 14, 1959, so if you happen to be in New York at that time nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet you. ANS have indicated that they would like a talk on some American subject.

I have been giving consideration to your source book and, frankly, I believe it is more work than any of us have time enough to accomplish in a proper manner. I have a large file system in which I put excerpts, photostats, printed articles, pictures, etc. on any of the different subjects in which I am interested. In this way I have it all available. Your method is one for a full time scholar and maybe if one of us retires we could undertake that type of work.

George Fuld and I are working on the Washington material together and I am struggling with Machin's Mills and an article on Connecticut coppers.

My very kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

December 21, 1959

Mr. Ray Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

I did not want to let the year go by without wishing you the best for the next decade and the hope that we can meet.

I also cannot let the year go by without asking you a question which I think you can answer. I am working on the matter of the 1804 dollars and would like to know the answers to a number of questions concerning coining at the United States Mint which I am sure you can answer.

1. Edge lettering, I assume, was put on before the coin was struck. If it were put on after the coin was struck, would that cause bulging around the borders?

2. How were radial line borders put on to the die of a coin? Was the coin die rotated and the serration cut in from the side, or was it rolled on?

3. How was beading put on borders of 1828 and thereafter?

4. When did the practice of upsetting the edge before striking the coin take place and would that be done if a collar were not used?

5. What is the relationship in size of the inside diameter of the collar to the outside diameter of the die?

The reason for all these questions is that I am trying to prove that the 1804 dies as well as others related to them were made subsequent to 1836 not just that the coins were struck then. I will be grateful for any help you can give me.

With best Holiday wishes,

Sincerely,

EPW/atb

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

December 24, 1959

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Eric:

Holiday Greetings! Christmas is a rat race, but it is a beautiful, wonderful rat race. I have nearly two hours now on Christmas Eve while my wife is doing volunteer duty at the Hospital to get a little more current in a sadly lagging correspondence -- lagging on my part, that is. I've never been so busy at G.E. In the past 15 months we've had a piecemeal move of around 200 families down here from three New York areas (Syracuse, Utica, Clyde) without stopping production. Our Engineering "center of gravity" passed to Lynchburg last January. We moved no hourly-rated people and no non-exempt people, even for their "know-how" which is pretty important in the electronic communication business. So we've had to train 1500 or so new people. But this had to be the year (and of course we really are glad!) that our orders received not only ran some 15% ahead of last year's as budgeted, but also we have been running some 20% ahead of budget. Let your imagination wade around in its bare feet in that situation.

A note came with the Christmas card of Charlie Heaton of Syracuse: "I wish you could have heard Eric Newman at the ANS meeting in November. His illustrated talk on coinage of Machin's Mills and early New York State was right down your alley. I suppose it will be published some time." He is so right.

Well he

Spent a few days' vacation this month in Washington DC visiting at the home of my wife's sister. While there I spent about 16 hours at the National Archives, and came across this item re Thomas (I hope) Machin: Record Group 217, records of the General Accounting Office,* Waste Book "C", page C411: "1782, June 15. Sundries Dr. to John Swanwick, Treasurer, to the Superintendent of Finance (Robert Morris). (Account No.) 354. Sept. 7, 1781. Capt. Machin of the Artillery, For ten pounds paid him at the request of his Excellency General Washington to bear his expenses after deserters. . . . . ($) 26 60" No more. "26 60" means $26 60/90, as all government accounts under the Articles of Confederation were kept in dollars and ninetieths. You add up a column of "cents" and if the sum runs over 90, you carry another dollar. This may supplement information in Crosby, page 191, where Thomas Machin is identified as "Capt."but of the Engineers" rather than of "Artillery." The papers of General Heath which I have examined some years ago in The Massachusetts Historical Society may have more data on Machin.

No

Believe you are also interested in NJ coppers. An item you may have missed is the following: Proceedings of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., Vol. 69, No. 3, July 1951, p 223: "The Original Mint of the New Jersey Coppers" by Damon G. Douglas, Caldwell, N. J. 7 pages. The copper panic of 1789 is discussed. Many source references. Douglas places the earliest horse-head coinage in a mint at Rahway.

Have it

* Treasurer's Office,

He proposes the idea that E PLURIBUS UNUM, placed on US coins in the 1790's without legal requirement, may be traced via Albion Cox and John Harper to the E PLURIBUS UNUM on the early NJ coppers struck at Rahway. If you do not have convenient access to this item, I'll loan mine.

Do not fail to obtain your copy of "The United States Trade Dollar" by John Willem. He has really done a magnificent job in a remarkably short time. He sent me copy Serial No. 2 with the endorsement: "To Ray Williamson without whose spur this work would never have been written."

A much-neglected source of information, both under the Articles of Confederation and later under the Constitution is the tremendous mass of double-entry bookkeeping books it apparently took to run the Revolution and our early Government . On this last trip to the Archives I've made a start at learning my way around in them; have been trying to do so by mail for nearly four years. I was "spurred" to action by Walter Thompson's use of this material in a haphazard way in the November NSM p 2709 "The Mint of North America and its Coinage." It is the shame of the century that ANS is willing to sit idly on its duff and permit this unscholarly pap fill the vacuum. I have a helluva lot more on Benjamin Dudley than Thompson, but still have many major blank spots and lots of places (but no time) to look. If you have a sincere need to get around in this material, please let me know and I'll organize a page or so of instructions. It isn't easy.

By the way, Willem (12-9-59) says "Incidentaly, if there is a 'next', it would be on the U. S. Mint from its beginnings to 1960. But I'm not sure I have this amount of time or energy."

I'll return to the subject of the Smithson Gold & Arkansas Banks if I have time. It is now 9 PM of Dec 26, and I'LL try to cover the questions in your Dec 21 letter before they are six months old.

In the first place, Breen (chick or no chick) is the expert on US Mint methods. I'm going to refer you to his work just in case:

Standard Catalog, 18th Ed. pp 169-174 "Restrikes of US Coins." (incidentally J. J. Pittman of Rochester has some of the proof restrikes of dollars of 1801-2-3 -- perhaps not all of them -- and doubtless has done a lot of study on the mechanics of their manufacture. He is an engineer, too.)

CCJ March-April 1951 p33 Research in the Archives; 1804 Dollar.

CCJ July-Aug 1951 p 86 Research in the Archives; 1804 Dollar.

CCJ SEpt-Oct; Nov-Dec 1954 The Secret History of the Gobrecht Coinages; p 14 re 1804 dollars; p 12 re Mint machinery; also p 13, and thereafter.

Referring to the end of p 33 of CCJ March-April 1951, Vattemare did not Arrive in the US until 28 October 1839, so could not have visited the Mint in 1838. See his name in Dictionary of American Biography.

Vattemare was quite a guy -- ventriloquist; had laws passed in US Congress; founded Boston public library; wrote a book in French on US coins; appears in the Smithsonian legislation, etc. etc.

Referring to CCJ March-April 1951 p 31 Par. 6, it is pretty obvious what Breen thinks of Franklin Peale. For more sympathetic treatment, see The Numismatist Dec 1958 p 1473: "Franklin Peale's Visit to Europe in the U. S. Mint Service" by Sister . . .; also (and more to the point) George Escol Sellers' "Early Engineering Reminiscences -- The United States Mint", American Machinist, May 4, May 18 and June 8, 1893 (Vol. 16.) There is a reproducible copy I left at ANS some years ago if you can't locate it conveniently. Sellers was 85 years old when this material was published, but it furnishes certain details not available elsewhere. See my use of his material in The Numismatist Jan 1951 "A visit to the U. S. Mint in 1812."

Before I start answering specific questions, please let me share some references re the mechanism for marking edges:

S. Hudson Chapman in The Numismatist, April 1928, p 242.

Jan 1869

Mason's Magazine, Vol 3 #1, Jan 1869 p2 "Peculiarities of American Coins No. 10". He has a half cent of 1793, unstruck but with edge lettered.

D. Elliott Smith,"Coin Edges", The Numismatist, Dec. 1943.

A. M. Smith's "Encyclopedia of Gold & Silver Coins of the World," 1886, illustrates many coin edges by an unfolding technique.

"Coinage of 1793 -- Cents and Half Cents", S. S. Crosby, 1897 Plate II illustrates an edge by rolling technique.

Sir John Craig's "The Mint", London, 1953, Plate IX; p 166, 167, 264, 268, 162, 163, (Virole Brisee was used on US gold coins around 1910 which had raised edge marking.) Also p 287. (See Index: Machinery & Coinage Methods.)

H. W. Dickinson, "Matthew Boulton" (1937). Plate IX, p 135, 136, 142-3, 206.

"Reeded" or"Milled"? The Numismatist, Dec 1943, Vol 56, #12, p1006. Letter from Mint Sup't Dressel defining reeded edge and upset edge.

AJN Vol 10, #3, p 59; Jan 1876. Popular but very good.

Seaby's Coin & Medal Bulletin, Oct 1953, p 401, re edge readings on British tokens, and how applied.

Eckfeldt & DuBois (1842) "A Manual of Gold & Silver Coins & Bullion". This was printed about the time the first 1804 dollars were made. See Frontispiece, pp 13-14; also pp 186-9 re multiplication of dies rapidly; but don't forget all had to have much finishing by hand.

J. L. Riddell, M. D. "Monograph of the Silver Dollar, Good and Bad." (1845) Riddell was Melter & Refiner of the Branch Mint at New Orleans. See p 5 for a concise statement on the manufacture of master, hub and coinage dies. (He calls them original, king and working dies.) The date of publication is significant.

J. R. Snowden, "Ancient & Modern Coins" (1860). Introduction, xiv - xix.

check

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 24, p 16, December 1861, "Making Money -- (Part) II -- The Mint at Philadelphia." By Waldo Abbott. Has many line drawings of machinery at the 2nd mint, used in making the 1804 dollars of all vintages.

Now for your questions.

"1. Edge lettering, I assume, was put on before the coin was struck, If it were put on after the coin was struck, would that cause bulging around the borders?"

In all descriptions of normal US coinage I've seen, edge marking (other ~~ras~~ than reeding) and edge squaring ~~ixxdonxxin~~ are done in a single operation, before striking. Exception: the Indian Head gold coins with edge marking in relief, done with the Virole Brisee instead of a solid collar, so that the coin can be removed. If edge lettering were rolled on after striking, I would expect that the diameter of the coin would be reduced at least slightly, the edges would be upset at least slightly raising the border denticles or beads a little, and the high points on obverse ~~and~~ or reverse might be rubbed a little due to the twisting lateral motion of the coin along a plane surface in the Castaing (milling) machine. The statement is purely conjectural, but seems sensible. It would apply to the hand-operated Castaing machines of 1804 as well as to the motor-operated ones of today.

"2. How were radial line borders put on to the die of a coin? Was the coin die rotated and the serration cut in from the side, or was it rolled on?"

All conjecture, but we can rule out some possibilities as being highly unlikely. The serrations (denticles) or beads weren't rolled on, because ~~af~~ if they were they would display an uneven place where the beginning and ending of the rolling came together. Changes in this art did not take place too rapidly, and I expect you can get your answer in* NNM No. 131 "The Coinage of the First Mint of the Americas at Mexico City 1536 - 1572," by Nesmith ~~XXXXX~~. (1955.) See second paragraph, p 55; see also p 98, the overlays which follow, etc. (P 98, punch no. 4.) This is a honey of a presentation. I have a plaster cast of the die of Newcomb 9 cent of 1818 (original at ANS). I can't tell much about the serrations; might be worth a look at the original. I imagine they made the denticles come out even at the end of the tour around the periphery by "fudging" a little; maybe stepping off the remaining space when near the end, with a pair of dividers. This would only have to be done once, on the master die. On today's coins, I would expect they make the spaces come out even by using a dividing engine.

* See also Sir John Craig "The Mint" p 124-5.

I would expect, then, that the serrations were applied with a punch; I'm sure that the whole die has its sides turned on a lathe after the devices are applied, including the serrations around the border.

" 3. How was beading put on borders of 1828 and thereafter?"

I'm not aware that it was put on differently before and after 1828, but would be glad to learn. Believe it was stepped off carefully around a circle made with a compass on the master die. I do recall that 1834 was the date Breen has established for the introduction of the close collar -- so close that each coin has to be ejected from the collar; so close that all coins are the same diameter regardless of how hard they were smacked (within limits); so close that the metal of the planchet can be driven into the reeds of a collar and produce a reeded edge if desired; so close that lettered edges are much flattened if applied before striking in a plain close collar. I assume your question relates to how beading was put on dies. I note Breen gives the date November 1836 as the time the close collar was introduced. (CCJ Aug. 1951 p 86; Standard Catalog, p 171 re 1833-35 restrike half dollars.) Believe Pittman has some of the restrike half dollars, 1835 or so, with squashed lettered edges; I've seen them some place. I note Breen cites 1828 (in above CCJ ref) as the date when there was introduced "mechanical border beading (instead of radial lines)". I know nothing about it. I seem to now remember Breen writing me something about this years ago. It would be a monumental assignment finding it now. Urge you write him directly; he has an almost photographic memory. 1828 would have been the first mint; 1835 the second. (DEC. 27, 1959) I now note that Breen's story on the introduction of mechanical improvements starting in 1828 is found in CCJ Sept-Oct 1951 p 105. Sorry; never got into the matter.

"4. When did the practive of upsetting the edge before striking the coin take place and would that be done if a collar were not used?"

I believe loose collars were used (or intended) right from the start in 1792, to prevent the prevalence of grossly-off-center coins; otherwise a boy would have to hold the planchet with his fingers while it got smacked, I guess! There must have been a variety of collar diameters -- even the loose ones -- because there is a large variation in diameter of coins of the same denomination and date; see Sh. Hudson Chapman's 1794 cent book, page 9 -- "Sizes 17¼ to 18½ (sixteenths of an inch.)" I'm almost certain that the various diameters are intentional rather than the result of soft or hard striking; the crude Mint machinery for rolling the copper was driven by gears of copper and it was almost impossible to accurately control the thickness of the sheet or planchet. Hence, they had an assortment of circular cutting-out punches which were used selectively to make the weight come out right. This problem was still present at The Royal Mint after the introduction of Boulton's new machinery in 1812; See Craig, "The Mint" p 272 and elsewhere. Any edge lettering or other edge marking upsets the edge some; since such lettering etc. was on our earliest coins, their edges are upset a little. (Gold edges???) From the appearance of unworn plain-edge cents of 1795, I would conjecture that they had had their edges upset without letters; not certain. Just to avoid a complete lack

of information, I'm going to give you some extracts from letters microfilmed for ANS, Records of the Bureau of the Mint, Record Group 104, National Archives, Letter Book Letters sent by the Director of the Mint of the United States to Matthew Boulton, Soho, near Birmingham, England:

(Oops, 1st one is Elias Boudinot to Pres. George Washington:)
March 15, 1796

"I have carefully examined the Model and Explanation for milling the Edges of Coin, which I had the Honour of receiving by your order under Cover from Mr. Dandridge.

"I am happy to report as the Result of that Examination, that the Machine at present in use at the Mint, is more simple, more efficient and much less expensive, both as to original Cost, and Labour in its Operation, than the one proposed by Mr. Gayor(?). Indeed*to invent a more simple Mode of accomplishing this Part of the coining Business, with equal Expedition & Perfection."

*(Omitted words): "I believe it is scarcely possible "

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Next one is Boudinot to Wm J. Coltman, (London)
Nov 28 1798

". . .I recd a Shipment from Mr. Boulton via Liverpool about the same Time I recd one from you. His . . .were incomparably better Copper & better Workmanship. His went immediately to the Press without the least Preparation; we were obliged to clean in Vitriol & mill yours before the (sic) could be struck. The difference lay in his being rolled hard through polished Rollers, were all milled, annealed & cleaned in Aq. Fortis. Yours were rolled soft through unpolished Rollers, & of Course the Surfaces were rough, convex and concave, not milled or cleaned, so that before we could strike them we had to pass them through Vitriol and to mill them, which from their being soft rather increased their Convexity, and at last they were scarcely passable. . . ."

- -

Boudinot to Boulton
April 22, 1799

" ". . .If you should be of Opinion that any thing you chose to communicate under the strongest Obligation of Secrecy would be of public Service, you may depend on my Integrity on this head. I should esteem it a very particular Mark of your Confidence & Benevolence if you would give me any Instructions relative to the Principles of the Machinery used in coining. For altho' we are on the small Scale, yet to us as a young People, it is a matter of great Consequence as our Specie bears a proper Proportion to our Numbers. We use the common Presses with Levers that go by Manuel(sic) Labour, excepting that as to small Coin & Cents, the Press is fed by Means of a Hopper, instead of being put under by Hand. We strike about half a Million of Dollars in Gold & Silver pr Ann. and as many Planchetts of Copper as we can get. It would have been very pleasing to me to have had our Coin struck by abler Artists, if Policy & the national Prejudices permitted it, but this was found impracticable. (Par.) The greatest Difficulty

I have experienced is in the Dies. Much of this proceeds from Want of good Steel. If you send me a Ton of the best Kind, it would greatly oblige me indeed. Your friendly & generous Communication relative to the hardening of Dies, demands my most cordial thanks. We have practised hitherto on the same Principles, excepting the Oil or Tallow in the last part of the Business, which in my opinion will be a great improvement. . . . .

"We are making some Endeavours to obtain Copper in this Country, particularly at Schuyler's Mines in New Jersey. There is nothing in the Way but Water. I hope when our North Western Country is opened a little more, that we shall be able to supply your Market with Ore, as there is an immense Body of it on the upper Part of Lake Erie." (!) (Long letter -- much more.)

"5. What is the relationship in size of the inside diameter of the collar to the outside diameter of the die?"

One of the reasons for turning a die on the lathe before it is fastened in the coining press is to remove excess metal so that the die will never strike the collar, and thus injure itself and the collar. This is quite a trick with the close collar. If the die does not come real close to the close collar, a well-struck coin will acquire a wire edge; if it is struck hard enough (or struck several times, with annealing between strikes) it will get a wire edge anyhow, as in proofs. Some permutations of these events, plus probable worn threads in the screw of the press presumably make double profiles.

Your searching questions have caused me to really scratch -- which is good -- and I really haven't answered any of them. However, I've just dug up two more excellent and pertinent Breen items:

"How our Coinage became Mechanized", The Numismatist, March, 1951, p 284. This summarizes many of the other items of his, referenced by me earlier above. He discusses the 1804 dollars in detail, and the 1828 changes in mechanization.

"Davy on Mint Processes in 1794", The Numismatist, August, 1951, p 870, in which James Davy describes US Mint processes in some detail, including the "milling on the edge."

(Now late evening of 12-28; time to draw this long rambling epistle to a close)

The 1830-1840 period when the 1804 dollars were struck was a period of great changes at the Mint -- new building with machinery of old type, replaced a few years later by steam coinage presses of knuckle type, humid assay, reducing lathe, the mint collection, machinery and personnel required for branch mints, a trip to Europe to learn new methods, etc. Early US coin collections were being established. Also it was a period of great political and moral unrest. It was in fact quite gamey. See biographical data in encyclopedia re Andrew Jackson, Roger B. Taney, Wm J. Duane; panic of 1837; termination of the 2nd US Bank. Rotary steam-powered upsetting machine introduced by F. Peale.

Just to point up the "gamey" side of life, I'll give you a couple of quotes from Vol II of Bolles, ~~XEX~~ A.S., "Financial Hist of the US from 1774 to 1885", 4th ed. p 556: ". . . corruption, foul and univeraal, was poisoning almost every branch, twig, and leaf of the public service. Certainly in no former period, and in no subsequent on, (thru 1883) has such a vast mass of corruption in conducting the public business been discovered. Everything, almost, undertaken by the officers of the government, was saturated with it. Every contract and appropriation seemed tainted with fraud. It would require too much space to describe these things, yet we must briefly touch on some of them.

"(Secy Treas) Woodbury himself was not a partner in these frauds; although some of them were committed so near to him, that one cannot help inquiring why he did not discover them. It may be that he knew, but could not screw himself up to the point of interfering. He was neither a reformer or a believer in drastic remedies. . .

. . .In the mighty roar for public plunder, those engaged therein thought but little of the future; and they were powerful enough to persuade the leaders generally to remain silent. . .at last, reckoning-day came; and it reveraled a scent of thoroughly organized corruption, on the part of public officials, hetherto unparalled.

"Officers who had resigned from the army and navy were re-instated several years afterward, and drew full pay for the period when they were not serving the government. (Report No. 459, 27 Cong., 2nd Sess.).

". . .The Superintendent of the branch-mint at Charlotte, N. C. proposed to make himself as comfortable as possible; and so he built, at public expense, an ice-house, a summer-house, and a bath-house. A committee who investigated the matter remarked, that, not perceiving the connection these buildings had with coining gold, they were forced to the conclusion that the branch mint in its operations had added more to the comfort of the superintendent than to the promotion of the public good. . .(Report No. 18, 26 Cong., 2nd Sess; 12-7-40 thru 3-3-41.)

(Bolles II 516; Report No. 462 27 Cong. 1st Sess): "To increase the coinage of the precious metals, branch mints were established at New Orleans, at Charlotte, N. C., . . .and at Dahlonega, Ga. It was not claimed that the mint at Philadelphia could not coin all the gold and silver brought there, but that, by erecting other mints at places more convenient to the owners of bullion, the business of coining would increase. Congress never authorized a more useless expense. This was clearly proved in due time; but the plea for creating these establishments was known to be shallow in the beginning. The officers who managed them led an easy life, and doubtless this was intended by Congress. In truth, these institutions were created less to supply a public need than to make places for needy politicians. The chief object of those who caused this unjustifiable extravagance was attained, if we believe the report of a committee who investigated the history of these branches in 1842. Especially with reference to the branch at Charlotte, they say,"Judging from the amount of money expended for trees, flowers, and shrubbery, the

labor done in the ~~yaxr~~ yard, the furniture purchased, and the baths erected, the committee infer, that, under the superintendence of the refined and tasteful gentlemen who were put in charge of this branch mint, it lacked nothing that could gratify the eye, contribute to health, soften the body, and insure repose." (Bolles:) The committee wisely recommended the abolition of all the branches. Several years afterward another branch was established at San Francisco, but this has served a useful purpose."

Perhaps half this letter has stuck to your questions; 10% is new to you, and 2% will really stimulate you. That is enough, and it has been fun. Best regards, before I miss another day's mail.

Very truly yours

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

January 19, 1960

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Your wonderful letter of December 24, 1959 is not just the length but the quality of a book. I am most grateful for your cooperation and you went far beyond what I expected of Job.

It was nice of you to comment on my talk in New York. I, too, wish you had been present at ANS when I bubbled for a while and, in due course, I will publish a monograph on the Machin's Mills matter.

With respect to your work at the Archives, I am enclosing a copy of an amusing letter from Walter Thompson. Although it may be necessary for him to charge for research, I like work done on an enthusiasm basis and do not want to start with him on a fee basis. The next time you go to Washington and poke in the National Archives, it might be very well to locate these 25 pages he is talking about and order microfilm for both of us. You indicate you are familiar with all the Dudley matters in the Archives and may know where the records of the Mint of N.A. are already. Thompson has been playing hard to get as to giving the citations.

I am reading John Willem's book on the trade dollar. He delivered the book to me personally and at that time told me how helpful you were to him. He also told me of his thoughts with respect to the US Mint, but I do not believe he will have the time to develop such a book if he intends to stay in advertising in New York.

I have read all your citations on the matters involving coinage procedures except the articles in the American Machinist and I have now revised my thinking with respect to the 1804 dollar so that I am convinced that specimens of early dollars

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson

were used for overstriking, not just lettered edge planchets which were left over. Apparently the surface designs were rolled out or beaten out before the 1804 dollars were struck. Each 1804 dollar of the first reverse has crushed edge lettering. The edge lettering was crushed either by putting the dollar in a flat milling machine to produce an upset edge or by being put in a plain collar at the time of the striking on the steampress. Which do you think caused the crushing? It is my guess that the edge lettering equipment was broken before 1840 and, therefore, an old dollar had to be used. This need for edge lettering shows they were making a fake on purpose and not a restrike where a plain edge would do.

The beading was, without question, rolled on by a nurling tool and this could be adjusted in the tool mount of a lathe in a manner that the beads would come out perfectly around the periphery. My primary problem is to try to determine whether the dies were made about 1840 and if you have any thoughts on this subject I would be grateful. I am satisfied that the edge lettering in the early days of the United States Mint performed the function of upsetting the blank.

I have received from the United States Mint a very interesting letter relative to the difference in size of the coin dies, the collar, the finished coin, and the planchet. The whold trick appears to be to avoid a wire edge and to have the coin spread horizontally into the collar for the reeding to be applied. I will give you a further report as soon as I do a little more studying.

I am studying an 1804 Eagle restrike which was loaned to me and which has a wire edge, strong edge reeding, and beautiful beading.

I am on a red hot subject. Again, thanks, and best wishes.

Cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

December 12, 1961

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Williamson:

The shock of hearing from me will be taken in stride by you. The shock of what I am going to suggest may not. I would like permission to send to you, for your suggestions, the text of the book which I will complete within a week or two entitled "The Fantastic 1804 Dollar". I probably will want to send galleyproofs.

You were so helpful to me with respect to the mechanical matters as to coin production and in generally stimulating my numismatic research that I must express my appreciation.

Even though we have never met I have the greatest respect for your counsel and cooperation.

Let me hear from you as to whether this will fit into your busy schedule.

Best wishes for the Holidays.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

December 19, 1961

Dear Ray,

I am enclosing the balance of the book with the chapter numbers indicated on a separate list.

As I told you, please feel free to make any corrections or suggestions which you care to as I know it needs it.

Sincerely,

From the desk of

ERIC P. NEWMAN

December 29, 1961

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Mr. Samuel Milbank called today and explained that he would like for me to fill the unexpired term of Damon Douglas. He told me that the Council would fill that position at their meeting on January 6, 1962. He also told me that the Council meeting would be more of a housekeeping meeting on January 6 and that the annual meeting would only have perhaps one Committee Chairman in attendance to give a report. I told him that under these circumstances it would not seem necessary for me to be present as I prefer to participate in other types of meetings. He agreed that it was not necessary for me to be present and that perhaps my attendance at other meetings would be more beneficial.

Frankly, I think it would be wrong for me to be in attendance at a meeting where I was to be elected to a position as some members of the Council might have other ideas.

I am certainly appreciative of all of the effort which you and Charles have put in on my behalf.

All is well that ends well - particularly 1961.

Cordially,

ERIC P.NEWMAN

CC:
Mr. Charles Wormser

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan. 4, 1962

933 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Va.
1-4-62

Messrs. D. Wayne Johnson
Lee F. Hewitt
John Jay Pittman
Lauren Benson
Randolph Zander
Eric Newman
Richard S. Yeoman

Gentlemen:

This is the story of a humble southern gentlemen, who is a telegrapher for the Norfolk & Western: PAUL R. EDEN, Seminole Drive, Madison Heights, Virginia, across the James River from Lynchburg. He is a West Virginia native who enlisted in the Canadian Army before the U.S. entered WW II, and eventually brought a British bride back to Virginia.

For more than a year, he has been using my numismatic library occasionally, and I never cease to be absolutely amazed at the depth of his scholarly knowledge and the exotic sources he has consulted in his particular field of research.

This unusual field is a search for rock-bottom finality with respect to the number of pieces minted, for each denomination, for each year, at each mint, plus weight and fineness, for a dozen or more foreign countries between the approximate dates 1870 - 1960. Some details he gave me from memory tonight are on the attached sheet.

For some months, Paul Eden has been doctoring for impaired muscular control in his hands and impaired speech. Tonight it develops that he is working against a deadline for getting his life work completed in every respect, due to presenile arteriosclerosis or some similar malady. He can no longer type. His first interest is for his family, but he also has a burning desire to share what he has learned by publication.

His real problem here is that his material is not as well and uniformly organized as it should be for publication. He asked me for help on this phase, which I reluctantly refused because I'm already overcommitted, and because I simply don't "catch fire" in this particular field, much as I respect it. There was a time when he hoped to organize his material to get it published in the most scholarly way possible, with lots of footnotes to reveal sources fully. Now he seeks only to find a way by publication to secure a maximum of money for his family; however, he is very proud and reluctant to approach things in this light.

The reason this letter is directed to several addressees in parallel is that time is running out fast, and I'm afraid most of you are going to say "no", as I've had to. Paul Eden estimates that he will have his material in sufficiently good shape to be ready for a review with a possible publisher by March 1, at which time he can

presumably take a week's vacation to work with a visitor, if one should appear.

Please look over the material which follows, search your soul and see if you aren't the one who can help numismatics, help this scholarly diamond-in-the-rough numismatist and gentleman, and possibly help yourself at the same time. Coins in the brackets indicated are going to be looking up in the next few years.

Please speak up! Let's hear from you, and SOON! Who has a workable idea?

Most sincerely

Raymond H. Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson
ANA 9482

- -

No. pieces struck, each denomination including gold, each year.
For each mint.
Weight.
Fineness.
Metals
Diameter, description, and authorizing law sometimes, when needed.
No history, but he has source for about 75% of his data; sources for other 25% not recorded, because he started to record them late.

COUNTRIES
Bulgaria 1881-1925
Cuba 1915-1961
Dominican Republic 1877-1960
Ecquador 1884-1960
French Indo China 1885-1946
Cochin China 1879-1885
Hong Kong 1863-1960
Jamaica 1867- -
Nicaragua 1878-1956
Peru 1888-1959
Roumania 1867-1925
Salvador 1883-1959
Straits Settlement 1871-1960
Venezuela 1876-1960

He has hundreds - perhaps thousands- of entries to give a partial story on several other countries, including Jugo Slavia. He believes previously published data for the Argentine and British Honduras are adequate, making further publication unnecessary, altho he has spotted a few errors which could be corrected.

SOURCES
Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg
(inter-library loans from:)
Alderman Library, U of Va.
Library of Congress
U of Richmond
Va State Library, Richmond
ANA Library

SOURCES (Cont'd)

U. S. Mint reports
British Mint Reports
"The Mint" by Sir John Craig
"Monetary Systems of the World" by Muhleman
Coin Collectors Journal
The Numismatist
Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine
Seaby's Bulletin
Spinks' Numismatic Circular

CORRESPONDED WITH:

Scoville Mfg. Co., Waterbury, Conn.
Gorham Mfg. Co., Providence, R. I.
U. S. Mint, Philadelphia (Leland Howard)
Deputy of the Royal Mint, London
Finnish Mint, Helsinki
Banco Central de la Republica, Bogota
Bank of Nicaraugua, Managua
Bank of Venezuela, Caracas
William B. Peck, White Plains, N. Y.
Fred Pridmore, Taunton, England
Theodore V. Buttrey, Jr. New Haven
Sydney V. Hagley, Beaumont, Australia
H. G. Hughan, Carterton, New Zealand

The above from memory. What a guy!

R. H. W.

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan 8 1962 8 pm.

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

The promised review of your 1804 Dollar material has not gone at all well in competition with the holidays and working hard for a living at the Communication Products Department of the General Electric Co. In the interval supposedly devoted to the review, there was the matter to be processed of a possible new incumbent on the ANS Council; the outcome I've not yet heard, but I imagine congratulations are in order. Also, I must add you have the possibility before you of doing more good for American numismatics than anyone else has had since Crosby was a boy.

Then, there was the matter of Paul Eden. Zander's superbly good letter re Eden reached me today, confirming my ideas there was no money in it for Eden or anyone else, but trying very hard indeed to help.

Then, there was the matter of the Toastmaster's job last Saturday night for a GE drafting manager retiring after 45 years' service. Boy! What a lot of water has gone under the bridge since 1916! The party went off fine, I'm glad to report.

Then, there is the matter of my wife reporting tomorrow as one of the four faithful daughters to take care of her father nights during his probable terminal illness at Scotia, New York. She will return about the 22nd. Old folks sure have different ideas. Mine did, I know. My father passed away at 93 out in Iowa in 1957 and my mother in 1960 in Wisconsin. My wife Hazel and I both think we should write letters to ourselves now to be received about 1990 to say what is crazy and what is not; but by then there will be different standards, and besides we'd laugh and say we must have been tipsy to have written such foolishness.

And then, one more thing. ~~Tomorrow~~ WED. night, I must speak to the Lynchburg Coin Club on a subject of their choice, made before I heard from you: "The Story of the 1804 Dollar." Oh, well, they may be satisfied with relative ease I hope. The President and the one-and-only local coin dealer came to me after meeting the other night and asked me to pronounce again the name "numismatist." They had seen it in print and wanted to know how it went for sure. God bless 'em! They'll get there yet.

Before dinner tonight, I fortified myself with 3½ dry martinis because I knew it was now or never for the review of your material. I stayed up until 2:30 AM the day the final batch arrived reading it through to the end. I was absolutely fascinated, and so many others will be. It is magnificent! You have overflowed your interest into a dozen or more byways I had hoped some day to investigate.

In each of these I may have a few odds and ends to contribute. I may be able to contribute something substantial in the historical background for the 1842 climate, if time permits you to use it. In any case, what I can do tonight will be sent as an attachment to this letter, and I'll return only those Thermofaxed Chapters on which I can convey my ideas most quickly by marginal notes.
more to write

My very best regards and all success to this venture. Please let me know if there is any reprieve on this tight time schedule for further comments, made more pleasantly because more complacently.

Yes

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

1-8-62

Review Comments by R. H. Williamson
on
THE FANTASTIC 1804 DOLLAR by Eric P. Newman

First, I'd like to refer you to excellent descriptive material on the Castaing machine, collars and the screw press in Seaby's Bulletin for Oct 1958: "The Royal Mint" by H. G. Stride.

Next I'll ~~go thru~~ extract from those of my several thousand chronology cards as seem to relate to your subject, over and above those you've already used. If I repeat some you've used, please forgive me. Time does not permit cross checking, and my memory is somewhat less than photographic.

Then as time permits, I'll go over your draft, Chapter by Chapter; either in these notes or by marginal notations, whichever will be faster.

- -

1804 Paul Revere's son Joseph Warren Revere goes to Europe to learn new metal-working methods; gone 1804-1805. Visited England, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden. Question: Did he visit Soho? See "Paul Revere & the World he Lived In" by Esther Forbes, p411 etc.

1804 $5 gold piece struck in copper, dated 1804, found when buildings of first mint razed in 1911. Now (~~xxxx~~) (1924) in Congress Hall Collection. AW-25? See Frank H. Stewart, "First US Mint . . .", pp 118, 160, 49.

1805 British Royal Mint at Tower Hill was supplied with machinery from Boulton's Soho works in this year. This machinery used until 1882. See Forrer's "Biographical Notices of Medallists" in Spinks "Monthly Numismatic Circular", col. 3061, Nov. 1898. See also George Escoll Sellers 1893 "Early Engineering Reminisces" I listed complete references to the "mint" part of this series in my item "A Visit to the US Mint in 1812", The Numismatist, Jan 1951, pp 4-10. George Escoll Sellers of Philadelphia visited Tower Hill in 1832, saw the steam coinage presses, with clutch to engage & disengage coining press from a shaft, coming thru the ceiling. In 1833 Franklin Peale of U.S. Mint, Phila. visited the Royal Mint.

1806, May 1. Letter from Secy of State James Madison under Pres Jefferson (beginning of his 2nd term) to Robert Patterson, Director of the Mint. You have it. Ref. The Numismatist, 3-1914, p 145; Stewart's Mint History, pp 54 & 109; D. K. Watson's "Hist of Amer Coinage" 1899 p 74. "This order remained in full force (illegally) during the succeeding administrations of Presidents Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, and part of the first administration of Jackson. ." (not sure who I'm quoting!) See Upton's "Money in Politics" p 203 for reason for exporting $.

Insert

1806 A Walter Breen item he gave 9-19-52: The 1806/5 overdate 25¢ obverse die was actually used as 1805 B4 (Rarity 7.) Breen has handled both, and knows of no other case where the earlier date of an overdate US coin was actually used for coinage during the earlier year.

1812 Secy Treas Wm H. Crawford's 12-29-1818 letter to J. W. Eppes, Chm of Senate Committee on Finance: "During the embargo of 1807-8, and that of 1812, the exportation of specie of every description was rigidly prohibited by law." American State Papers - Finance V3 p 394. NOTE. ASPF uses word FINANCE, not FINANCIAL. I have all five volumes.

1816 March 6. AJN 7-1886, V21 p11. "Sparks From the Mint Fire" by

1816 March 6 (cont'd) Patterson Dubois. ". . .except the mere building, which was ill contrived & of little value, no great loss has been sustained by the fire. The principal parts of the machinery were, in fact, nearly worn out & must have been replaced in a short time tho' no such accident had occurred./ The only difficulty at present forseen will be in procuring rollers; 2 or 3 pr of which would be wanted. These can, I believe, be best obtained thru the agency of Mr. Boulton of Soho, the gentleman who has for many years supplied the Mint with copper; but in answer to a letter which I addressed to him some years ago on the subject of rollers, he informed me that they were among the articles which could not be exported without obtaining permission from gov't. This, however, might probably be effected thro' the application of our Minister to London."

1819 Jan 25. ASPF V3-393. Shall we Prohibit US Specie Exportation? A report by Talbott, from the comm of Finance, to the Senate, per Senate Resolution of Dec 2 1818 "to enquire into the expediency of prohibiting, by law, the exportation of the gold, silver & copper coins of the US." Long winded. No, because it won't work.

1819 Jan 26. Carothers 85; ASPF 3-398. Rep. Wm Lowndes Report to the H. of R. Carothers: ". .an elaborate and able report on the currency situation. . .This plan, lacking the fundamental feature of coinage on govt account, was practically identical with the British measure of 1816, with the same confusion of subsidiary coinage & bimetallism, but its adoption at this time would probably have resulted, as in England, in the eventual establishment of the gold standard with a perfect subsidiary silver system." Wm Lowndes b Charleston SC c 1781, d 1822 at sea en route to Europe. See Goodwin's Cyclopedia of Biog. 1854. ASPF item frightfully long-winded, but well worth scanning.

1820 Feb 12 ASPF 3-500. 20,000 word report on "Bank of the US & Other Banks & the Currency," by Wm H. Crawford, Secy Treas & communicated to the H of R 2-24-1820 per request of 3-1-1819. p 499 "But the Fed Govt has, by its measures. . .contributed to the spirit of speculation & of adventurous enterprise which, at this moment, so strongly characterizes the citizens of this republic. . ." Worth scanning. See DKWatson 79 and Carothers 85. Wm H. Crawford, Secy Treas 1816-25; 1816 under Madison; 1817-25 under Monroe. Crawford 1772-1834. See Godwin's Cyclo of Biog p 327 (1854.)

1838 March 20 Evans, Hist of the US Mint & Coinage p 19. Mint Director RMPatterson to Levi Woodbury, Secy Treas. re ". . .cost of erecting the principal Mint and its branches, incl bldgs fixtures, and apparatus, . ." "This amount does not include expenditures made under special appropriations for the years 1836 and 1837, for milling and coining by steam power; and for extensive improvements in the assaying, melting, and parting rooms, and machine shops, amounting to $28,270." much more.

1839 Mar 15. Eckfeldt farewell medal presented. Data on Eckfeldt family history thru 1926. See The numismatist, 4-1926 p 191.

1839 Oct 28. Alexandre Vattemare arrives in US first time from France. His trips 1839-1841, 1847-1850. See (of all places) Dictionary of American Biog. He founded the Boston Public Library, it says here.

1840 early. DAB. M. Vattemare makes memorial to US Congress (H. Doc. 50, 26 Cong., 1st Sess.) regarding his museum exchange proposals.

1841 Bolles, A..S. "Financial Hist of the US" Vol 2-559; Report #18, 26 Congress, 2nd Sess; Report 459 27 Cong. 2nd Sess; Report 288 27th Cong. 3rd Sess; no. 669, 27th Cong, 2nd Sess. Bolles: ". . .corruption, foul and universal, was poisoning almost every branch, twig, and leaf of the public service. Certainly in no former period, and in no subsequent one, /thru 1883/ has such a vast mass of corruption in conducting the public business been discovered. Everything, almost, undertaken by the officers of the government, was saturated with it. Every contract and appropriation seemed tainted with fraud. It would require too much space to describe these things, yet we must briefly touch on some of them. /Secy Treas/ Woodbury himself was not a partner in these frauds; although some of them were committed so near to him, that one cannot help inquiring why he did not discover them. It may be that he knew, but could not screw himself up to the point of interfering. He was neither a reformer or a believer in drastic remedies. . .In the mighty roar for public plunder, those engaged therein thought but little of the future; and they were powerful enough to persuade the leaders generally to remain silent. . . at last, reckoning-day came; and it revealed a scent of thoroughly organized corruption, on the part of public officials, hitherto unparalleled./ Officers who had resigned from the army and navy were re-instated several years afterward, and drew full pay for the period when they were not serving the govt. /#459, 27 Cong 2/ Young men were sent abroad professedly to study at the cavalry school in Namur, France, but really to travel at public expense. . .In a report, April 28, 1842, #669, 27 Cong 2nd Session, a committee of Congress declared, "It is believed that the wickedness of public officers here exposed is unparalleled in the history of any civilized government./ Useless offices were multiplied. The origin of many of these is interesting. . . . .Many public buildings were erected during this period. In the beginning, Congress enacted that the entire sum for building them should not exceed a certain figure; but the enactment was speedily forgotten & appropriations were made from year to year. . .The Superintendent of the branch mint at Charlotte, N.C., proposed to make himself as comfortable as possible; and so he built, at public expense, an ice-house, a summer-house, and a bath-house. A committee who investigated the matter remarked that not perceiving the connection these buildings had with coining gold, they were forced to the conclusion that the branch mint in its operations had added more to the comfort of the superintendent than to the promotion of the public good. It is true that when the account reached the treasury department, it was suspended for examination. 'It seemed a little too large;' but, when the secretary learned from the superintendent that what he had done was 'an error of honest patriotism,', the explanation was satisfactory, and the account was allowed./ Report # 18, 2 26 Cong 2; / During Van Buren's administration a large sum of money was spent in furnishing the White House./ This is a lulu. See 989 27-2; 288 27-3; 458 27-2; 460 27-2; 4 87 27-2; 194 24-2. Bolles p 561: ". . .Amos Kendall, the postmaster-general, sent George Platt to Europe to get information relating to the postal system of various countries. His salary was $2000, and $16.80 per day were allowed for expenses. he was gone 457 days, and doubtless enjoyed his trip better than many others did the history of it. There was no authority for sending him, -

no appropriation had been made for the purpose; but Kendall, who was one of President Jackson's devoted adherents, persuaded the President to order a transfer of eight thousand dollars from another appropriation to the appropriation for 'mail depredations and special agents,' under which head the account was paid. A committee of investigation declared there was no excuse for such an abuse of power, and wanton waste or misapplication of the public money. There was no services rendered in obtaining information which could not have been performed by the regularly authorized ministers of the U.S. in the countries thru which Mr. Platt travelled./ Report 487, 27 Cong-2/ much more/ Nevertheless, they did uncover a sickening state of things. The presidential office had been debased to low ends, and its dignity had been destroyed; while the integrity of its occupant, which hitherto no one had questioned, was now impaired."/ The above statements of Bolles are in some degree politically inspired, but Washington DC must <u>really</u> have been redolent under Jackson. I note that the loss of the Smithsonian gold is not introduced here. For the story of that see The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Dec 1950 p 403: "The Control of the Real Estate Bank of the State of Arkansas, 1836-1855" by Ted R. Worley; also a Masters Thesis by Sister Mary Ezra O'Shea, S.S.N.D. at the Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas, May, 1959, "The Demise of the Real Estate Bank of Arkansas." This was big money. Part of the Smithsonian story is Report #587 H of R, 27th Cong 2.

<u>1842 March 31</u>. Reports of House Committees 27 Cong - 2; #462 re the extravagances and waste connected with the Branch Mint at New Orleans is juicy reading. Two Riddells appear. Bolles II 516 has this to say: "To increase the coinage of the precious metals, branch mints were established at New Orleans, at Charlotte, N.C.. . & at Dahlonega, Ga. It was not claimed that the Mint at Phila could not coin all the gold and silver brought there, but that, by erecting other mints at places more convenient to the owners of bullion, the business of coining would increase. Congress never authorized a more useless expense. This was clearly proved in due time; but the plea for creating these establishments was known to be shallow in the beginning. The officers who managed them led an easy life, and doubtless this was intended by Congress. In truth, these institutions were created less to supply a public need than to make places for needy politicians. The chief object of those who caused this unjustifiable extravagance was attained, if we believe the report of a committee who investigated the history of these branches in 1842. Especially with reference to the branch at Charlotte, they say, "Judging from the amount of money expended for trees, flowers, and shrubbery, the labor done in the yard, the furniture purchased, and the baths erected, the committee infer, that, under the superintendence of the refined and tasteful gentlemen who were put in charge of this branch mint, it lacked nothing that could gratify the eye, contribute to health, soften the body, and insure repose." /Bolles:/ The committee wisely recommended the abolition of all the branches. Several years afterward, another branch was established at San Francisce, but this has served a useful purpose."

<u>1844 July 1</u> Bolles II 575. "In 1844 the fiscal year began with the 1st of July,--a change which Woodbury recommended nearly 10 years before. The need of making it was so obvious, that no report was made on the subject by any committee, nor was there any opposition to the change. The delay, therefore, in changing the date, is the more unaccountable." /RHW urges further check before accepting this. I think the change in the annual Mint reports did not change from the calendar year until 1857./

1847 DAB. M. Vattemare arrives in US from France on 2nd trip to US. His second memorial to Congress is Senate Misc Document 46, 30th Cong., 1st Sess. He also appealed to several state legislatures re his museum exchange program.

1854. Franklin Peale removed from his position as Chief Coiner, 1839-1854. See CCJ Breen 3/4 1951; George Escoll Sellers Early Engineering Reminiscenses the very last paragraphs. in Part III Vol. 16, No. 23, June 8, 1893 AMERICAN MACHINIST. This series also has a wealth of info on the branch mint machinery. Sellers says that Judge Kelley, representative of a Philadelphia district, in the US Congress, introduced a successful bill to give $10,000 to Franklin Peale's only child -- a daughter, in consideration of Peale's inventions given freely to the country. Peale's data: 10-15-1795 to 5-5-1870. Entered Mint Service 1833; melter & refiner 1836; chief coiner 1839-1854.

1855 Feb. Monsieur Alexandre Vattemare requested duplicate proof sets $20.00 to half cent, for 1850-1854 inclusive, the coins to be exhibited at a forthcoming exposition in Paris and then deposited in an "American Library & Museum" in that city. Breen, CCJ 3-4-5-6/1953.

1855 Feb. A. Vattemare correspondence re rare proofs he obtained from US Mint for the /Paris/"Bibliotheque Imperiale" now "Bibliotheque Nationale". See National Archives, Letters Mint and Branches, 1855, bound vol. of corres. in RG 104, Treasury Section. Walter Breen (~~xxxxxx~~) wrote me 3-7-53 "Wayte Raymond has made inquiries to the French Govt and they know nothing of any alleged Vattemare; neither does the Bibliotheque Nationale have any collection given by anyone of that name. Some day this bird is going to be written up, but good."

1857 Jan 1. CCJ 7-31 Feb 1882. Correspondence from W.S.D.: ". . the fiscal and calendar year was the same until jan, 1857."

1861 A. Vattemare publishes (age 65): "Collection de Monnaies et Medailles de l'Amerique du Nord, de 1652 a 1858, offerte a la Bibliotheque Imperiale. . .Catalogue, avec notices Historiques et Biographiques" in Paris. I have handled the copy in NYPL. Pyzb Libr See AJN April 1868, p 110, for review.

1865 April 15 . Jacob Bausch Eckfeldt goes to work at the Mint under his father, Jacob Reese Eckfeldt (Same day Lincoln died.) Father was assayer. See Stewart's History p 86.

1866 June 15. Report of the July 5, 1866 meeting of the Boston Numismatic Society contains this paragraph re Vattemare: (Aug 1866 AJN 27) "A letter was also read from the Secy Mr. /Wm S / Appleton, dated London, June 15, containing an account of the American coins and medals in the great collection at Paris, which, owning to M. Vattemare's exertions, is said to present by far the best display of American pieces in Europe."

1866 Aug Ajn Aug 1866 p Anonymous article on new 5¢ piece. It refers to the US Mint as the "Government copper-head factory," and states: "~~Gxxxxxxxxx~~ Though specimens are refused to Societies and individuals, they are readily procured in Phila through the agents of the young gentleman at the head of that department. At present the price of a set of four, struck in "putty" and various metals, with copper gold dollar included, is $35, though the expected purchaser is informed in every case, that as the owner is very anxious to sell . . .he will take $30. Collectors are advised to wait a while. . ."

Add this

1866 Sept. AJN this date re 1804 dollar. Re Giascutus, he appeared the month before in "Notes & Queries" (Aug 1866) at the bottom of a request, the last half of which read: "A few days since I was shown an 1804 dollar (American) in perfect condition. It is in the possession of a gentleman of this city," "Richmond, July 11, 1866."

1867 July 2 AJN Aug 1867, letter M.A. Stickney to Edward Cogan re 1804 dollar and Vattemare.

1871 Numismatist, July 1910, p163 Zerbe quotes an 1871 letter from the chief coiner of the Phila Mint ~~in 1871~~, re old dies. Note Louden's history at the mint: Register of Phila Mint May 7, 1857; Chief Coiner 10-1-1866 to 1-1-1877; d 1912.

About 1880 and I'm almost certain it was in Numisma (which I do not own) there was a fiction story on the 1804 dollar. I kept no notes on it but it was a honey, and deserves digging up. All about a young man who visited the mint on July 4, 1804 and watched while a dollar of that year's date was struck; how it was then sealed up by the Director of the Mint along with a letter signed by the Director describing the event. There was also a poem -- early AJN I believe re Vattemare.

1885 Hist of the US Mint & Coinage by Geo G. Evans, p 64 "Sketch of the 1804 $", copied from Chapman's catalog of May 14-15 (1885?).

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It is now midnight, and will proceed with a few miscellaneious references I've jotted down, which might be helpful, before starting the Chapter by Chapter comments, if I'm up to it.

There are a tremendous number of parallels between the history of British coinage machinery and US coinage machinery, ours often lagging a few decades.

Diam never officially specified on British coins; see Peck "English Copper, tin & Bronze Coins", p xii & xiii.

See Peck p 178 re edge lettering with the Castaing machine after striking.

US dollars exported to West Indies -- endless chain. Numismatist 11-1932 p 691. Carothers p 75. Watson p 74. Upton "Money in Politics" p 203 (Have not seen.)

COINAGE MECHANISMS. See WCPrime "Coins, Medals & Seals" 1861 pp 154-160 re edge marking.

I'm sure I've seen somewhere, altho I can't find it any more, that British coins are of variable diameter not only because they were smacked with a loose collar, but also because they deliberately cut the blanks of such diameters as to make the all-important weight right, despite their inability to roll the thickness accurately. I thought it was in Craig, but it must have been in Spinks or Seabys publications.

Of course you have consulted Craig's "The Mint" on machinery. I would imagine that correspondence with the author would be very fruitful. See Craig pp 220-1 re Newton's trouble with rolling cupper.

SHChapman's "Cents of the year 1794" p9 gives the diameter range for cents of that year as 27.5 mm to 29.5 mm. I doubt that was all done in the striking. Sheldon's Early American Cents gives a range p73 of 27.5-30 mm for 1793's and 28-30.5 mm for S81 of 1796. They must have had different diameter cooky cutters.

See Peck page 142ff re diameters struck sans collar; spread denticles.; esp top p143.

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Introduction. 2nd line from bottom. Pluralize collection. 2nd page, near middle suggest "To those who have open minds. . ."

Chapter I. The Official Records.

Re Mint Director furnishing his report to the President, there is an excellent write-up of the history of to whom the reports were made over the years in "Preliminary Inventories No. 40 -- Records of the United States Mint at Philadelphia" (free) The National Archives 1952. "In the early years of the Mint's operation the Director sent his annual reports of the activities of the Mint to the Secretary of State for transmittal to the President. In an interim period during which the Secretary of State gradually ceased to have responsibility for the superintendence of the Mint and the Secretary of the Treasury gradually assumed control, the annual reports were transmitted direct to the President. By 1835 the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury over coinage and related operations appears to have been complete, although annual reports continued to be rendered to the President until 1857. Since that date the reports have been made to the Secretary of the Treasury."

Get it

Re the "more detailed summary of the Treasury Department" (2/3 way down page F-1), these reports seem to have been invariably submitted to the Secy Treas by the Comptroller. So I've always heard them referred to as the Comptroller's reports. I'm not sure rught now whether it's the Mint comptroller or what, and am not taking time to dig it out.

Page F-4. I've pondered long and ineffectively on why they sometimes made an overdated die and other times just went ahead and used it "as was" with last year's date on it. The only conclusion I can come to is speculative but very simple and reasonable. If the end of the year caught them with unused dies which had not yet been hardened, they cut an overdate; if they had been hardened they went ahead and used them with the wrong date on them rather than risk the possible cracking

I have a new theory

They had to do so

of another annealing and hardening cycle.

Page F-4. 2/3 of way down. Suggest explain meaning of "S/C". At bottom and in each case of its occurrence, I urge ASPF be called as on the back strip title: American State Papers - Finance (Not"Financial")

F4½ group of 730 dollars was shown

Chapter II DISCONTINUANCE OF DOLLAR COINAGE

J-3 bottom footnote, 1st ref: "Archives of the United States of America, Department of State . .", believe your reference is not modern, but should today be to the appropriate record group in the National Archives.

J-4 Top footnote; same comment.
2nd footnote; add if you wish "Stewart plll."
3rd footnote. The following quote from Riddell is also interesting: "No counterfeits of the United States Dollar have come under my observation. Coins seem to be counterfeited just in proportion to the rudeness of their workmanship, and their abundance in general circulation. This dollar has never constituted an important part of the general pecuniary circulation; and the workmanship being comparatively good, it has, I imagine, very seldom been spuriously made." On page 4, he has a superb report on the making of dies. He pictures 38 counterfeit US 50¢ pieces.

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It's 1:00 AM, so I'm knocking off until Thursday night; meetings the next two nights. When you receive this, please let me know if further review is too late. I'm going ahead with Thursday's session any way.

RHW

January 11, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Ray:

Your wonderful letter of January 8 arrived with all of its pathos, humor, philosophy, and careful research.

I cannot possibly help Paul Eden in his work and I told Randolph when he previously asked me.

I have not heard anything from ANS so don't congratulate yourself yet.

You may add further comments to the 1804 Dollar book even though it has been sent to the printer's because I can always substitute pages or make additions until page proofs are prepared.

I want to comment on a few of your suggestions and I am including as many of them as I can.

1. I would appreciate borrowing the October 1958 Seaby bulletin as I do not have it.

2. Alexander Vattemare was a big phony, as you state. The oft-repeated claim that there was no 1804 dollar in the mint collection when he visited the Mint in 1839 is without support so far as I know. I have examined his book, which merely lists the collection which he assembled. I think he should have stuck to ventriloquy as he was talking out of both sides of his mouth.

3. The corruption in public service during the 1841 period was probably no different than what goes on today but I will try to work in some reference to it as you have given me enough material to do so.

4. I do not have the July 1910 Numismatist, page 163, and if you could have a photocopy knocked off I would be grateful.

January 11, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson

5. It is very important that I find your story about the visit to the mint on July 4, 1804 where someone watched the 1804 dollar being struck. I do not have the Numisma and will order it from the ANS Library if you are satisfied the story is there. Can you give me any other clues as to locating it.

6. You are right that the comptroller of the treasury is the man who submitted the reports of mint operations and I have corrected the manuscript.

7. You generated my thinking with respect to overdates and I have a new theory based upon your logic. If a die was used then it would be too dangerous to anneal, overdate, and reharden but if it were not used then it could be overdated because the danger of breakage was minimal. The only exception, as you point out, is that the 6 over 5 quarter but this was used so little in 1805 that the overdating was possible. This is as simple a solution as yours. I cannot believe that dies were not hardened because they never knew when they would need them because of breakage, therefore I assume dies were hardened immediately upon completion.

I am impatiently awaiting your next communication and must thank you again and again for your devotion to this book and the kind words you say about it.

I am pleased to tell you that I just have proof positive, in letters from the mint officials, expressing their pleasure at the new flat borders which were put on the coins in 1829, etc. I wanted this to show that these flat borders were never used before since they have nothing to do with collar dies or steam operations.

Cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan. 14, 1962.

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.,
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Your January 11 letter has arrived, and I can now continue with the review of the 1804 Dollar story. You state Randolph previously asked you to help Paul Eden here. Do you mean Randolph Zander? He wrote me a long letter re Eden, in which he says "Paul Eden and I have not been in touch now for some years." I'm confused. At this very second the phone rang, and it was D. Wayne Johnson of Coin World. Never met or talked with him before. He was interested in serially publishing Paul Eden's stuff ~~serially~~ in Coin World, but thought in view of the fact that CW would have to dig up cuts for all of them he might offer $2/country to Eden. I suggested in that case he offer him free cuts and publication, and let it go at that; that $2/country was not much for 100 hours work, even though a labor of love; maybe he could make it $20/country and get together with Hewitt for the cuts. We shall see. Forgive the lack of polish in the above; I believe the meaning is sufficiently clear; I'm racing against time to cover all possible of your book today.

Re you and ANS, Clain-Stefanelli on 1-8 says "I am gratified that your initiative concerning Eric Newman's election as a member of the Council ANS was successful. One day before the deadline there were only nine signatures listed on the petition! I never thought that full-fledged Fellows were that scarce in the New York area. I was bold enough to suggest members of the ANS Museum as signers." What apparently none of them know is that I shouldn't have had Mabbott on my list of prospective signers in the first place because he is a (non-dues-paying) Life Fellow, and as such is inelligible to vote, altho I guess even he didn't know it. Apparently Wormser trotted over later in the day with the 11th signature (Yeoman) making 10 valid ones without Mabbott. Boy! Talk about cliff hanging! Johnson has the ANS story of the meeting, he said. Willem's 1-7 letter says "As you either have heard or will hear from other sources, Eric Newman is now an ANS Council member (filling the unexpired term) and there were no fireworks at the Annual Meeting held yesterday./ This is the first ANS Annual Meeting I have attended, and I found it a very dull affair, and lasting only about forty minutes./ Frankly, I think the whole operation could stand a shot in the arm. Getting Eric on the Council is a start in the right direction. Glad if anything I did to supplement or complement your own works was helpful."

Am sending both Sept & Oct 1958 Seaby Bulletins, containing pertinent info in articles by H. G. Stride "The Royal Mint." I take both Seaby's and Spinks publications by air mail to pick up a bargain once in a while.

Be sure to look up Vattemare in Dictionary of American Biography.

The July 1910 Numismatist article by Farran Zerbe is 8 pages long, so I'm sending my loose copy for your use. I know you'll be good to it! Unfortunately, there is no signature or date on the letter from the former mint employee.

You understand the story of the visit to the mint on July 4, 1804, to watch the dollar being struck was unmistakable and intended as pure phantasy -- and corny phantasy at that. I am trying to remember where I saw it since Sept 1948, since that is the time I borrowed all volumes of both Ed. Frossard's Numisma and Mason's Coin & Stamp Collectors' Magazine (1867-1872 at that time; Numisma was 1877-1884 then; believe more years of both were published, but ANA Library did not have them.) The item was so non-numismatic that I made no notes on it, but I still remember it. The best I can do is a fuzzy and perhaps erroneous memory that it was in Numisma about 1880; why not write the ANA Librarian or even borrow the bound volumes?

I hope you have dug up all the pertinent issues of American Machinist with Geo. Escoll Sellers articles on the mint in them. I placed typescript copies in the ANA and ANS Libraries in 1948 or so; also retained a complete copy which you may borrow if you lack access to the original. Sellers coined himself a cent of 1812 at the first mint as a boy, and relates that "As I grew older and better able to understand, my interest in all the various processes increased, . . Then the hand-milling press was a very interesting one to watch, it was raising . . ." Come to think of it, I copied all that paragraph in my Numismatist article, Jan 1951, so you presumably have it; note footnote 6; you seem to agree with Sellers re rolling on the reeded edge. I think this was done only where the reeded portions were not continuous all the way around the coin as in the 1793 cent; you may know better!

I disagree

Here are a few references on edge marking and old-style coining presses, some of which may interest you:

Prime, W. C. "Coins, Medals & Seals" (1860) p 154. Good.

Numismatist, Aug 1913 p 428 re Phillippe Gengembre, French mint engineer, d about 1838, made improvements and inventions in edge marking, and apparently invented the automatic blank feed which saved so many fingers. Ben Franklin knew him.

I'm sending you a photostat of Thonnelier's French patent 10017 of 1834 on the knuckle-action coinage press which we copied for our first steam coinage; also a photostat from Appleton's Dictionary of Machines etc. 1851 which shows the Thonnelier press; also a long-hand translation of the very difficult French of the 1834 patent, with which I'm not satisfied for 14 years. The knuckle-action press was a big improvement because it squeezed the blank instead of hammering it, thus allowing enough time for the metal to flow into the cracks.

Next, I'm going to transcribe the earliest edge-marking story I've seen in English, altho it refers to (apparently) still earlier publication:

Pinkerton, John "An Essay On Medals" 1784 (2 vol.) Both volumes are dated 1784, but vol 2 describes itself as "A new edition, corrected, greatly enlarged, and illustrated with plates." Section XX begins on p201 in Vol. I, and for some reason Section XX covering 99% of the same material is repeated with a few additions in Vol. II p 129. "Section XX (Vol. II) Observations on the progress of the British Coinage." . . . .(p139) It is believed that Simon first introduced the idea of marking the crown and half-crown with a legend on the edge, as an ornament and protection to the coin. Of this art the inventor is unknown; but the first piece, which is yet known to be an instance of it, is a silver piedfort of Charles IX of France, dated 1573. The first medal is one in silver, of George Frederic, Marquis of Brandenburg, dated 1589; the legend on the edge of which last is, CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCUNT, DISCORDIA RES MAXIMAE DILABUNTUR. 1589. Both these pieces I have seen in the hands of a friend. There also occurs with a legend on the edge a medal of Ferdinand Duke of Florence, in 1603.*/See Snelling's pattern pieces, p. 49./ We have seen that Briot gave the first specimen of it in Great Britain upon his Scottish coronation medal, 1633; and Simon now introduced it into the larger coin, with great propriety, as it is both ornamental, and preserves such pieces from being clipped.

"The method in which this was performed till 1685, when a better plan succeeded, tho given in the Encyclopedie, is yet conveyed in so short a manner, that I must confess, it is not intelligible to me; but the original description, with what can be made of it, will be found below.† / There now follows a long two-paragraph footnote, the 2nd paragraph of which appears only in Vol. II./ † Cette operation se faisoit en mettant le flanc dans une virole juste, qu'il excedoit de hauteur; et en frappant dessus plusieurs coups de balancier; la matiere s'etendoit, et recevoit l'empreinte des lettres qui etoient gravees fur la virole." Encycl. art. Monnoye. That is, literally translated: "This operation was performed by putting the piece, before it was stamped with the dye, into a ferule of its size, which it however exceeded in height; and in striking it with repeated strokes of the press or mill, the metal extended itself, and received the impression of the letters which were engraved on the ferule." The difficulty lyes in there being no description of this virole, or ferule: we are indeed referred to that article, of which all that is the least like the matter runs thus: "VIROLE: petite bande de fer, d'argent, ou d'autre metal, qui sert a tenir la meche de l'alumele ferme dans le manche." "A virole is a small fillet of iron, silver, or other metal, which closely surrounds the small end of the handle of knives, hammers, spindles, &c.: and which serves to hold the inserted part of the knife firm in its handle." This is nothing: but such is the Encyclopedie, which, with its eternal references to other articles, in consequence of its horrible plan, and blunders thence arising, may be safely regarded, if considered as a whole, as a disgrace, and not an ornament, to science./Next paragraph of this long footnote in Vol. II only/ ¶ A learned friend informs me that, in old English

coinage, this virole was called a collar. It was in four joints, the seams of which are observable in Simon's coins and medals, and others of the time, Being put round the blank, or uncoined piece, the later /sic/ was pressed with the dyes, till it extended so as to receive the impression from the collar, or ring around, and was thus complete at once. / End of footnote, p140/ The process, since 1685, is by means of a very simple, but not the less ingenious machine, invented by M. Castaing,/ Wonder what was his first name?/ and then first introduced into the French mint; but since, it is believed, into all the mints in Europe; a description of which, taken from the Encyclopedie, shall now be laid before the reader. This process is indeed kept a severe secret at our mint, and the men employed sworn not to reveal it; but as it is openly done at all other mints, and given in so well known a book as the Encyclopedie, and in the English Cyclopedias, there can be no harm in stating it here.

"The machine for this purpose consistw of two plates of steel, each being in the oblong shape of a flat ruler, of about a line thick. upon their edge is engraven the legend, half upon one plate, and half upon the other. One of these plates is motionless, and fastened with screws to a plate of copper, which is again secured to a very thick table.

"Sometimes little plates which bear the legends are fastened in the above plates of steel, and at other times the legend is engraven upon the later themselves; but the former seems the best way, if the legend is often changed.

"The other plate of steel is moveable, and is placed parallel to the fixed one, at a distance proper to admit the coin between them. The moveable plate slides upon the plate of copper, to which the other is fastened, by means of a pinioned or indented iron wheel moved by a handle, the teeth of this wheel catching an indentation, which is upon the upper face of the sliding plate of steel, and so moving it along.

"From the prints which accompany the description, it appears that the small plates, upon which the legend is most commonly engraved, are so cut upon the inscribed edge, that, below the letters in each, and all along that side, runs a small projection of metal, upon which the coin may roll without falling down between them, or touching the copper plate below. When the machine is therefore ready for the insertion of the coin, the two plates with the legend on their edges are even at the ends, and the legend runs so that the first half of it being on the moveable one, for instance, the other half on the fixed plate stands exactly opposite to it.

"Thus the piece before it is coined, being placed horizontally between the steel plates, is led on by the motion of that which is moveable, joined to the letters catching it's edges, so that, when it has described a semicircle, both halves of the legend are upon it, and it is entirely marked. When it reaches the end of the legend, and of the steel plates, it falls off, and drops thro a hole in the table into any receptacle which is placed to receive it.

~~"To the plates, which is given in the Encyclopedie, undoubted~~

"For this description, which it is hoped, is clear, I am more indebted to the plates than to the account given in the Encyclopedie, which is a very brief, and of consequence a very lame one. We are there told, that by the help of this machine one man may mark 20,000 ~~xxxx~~ coins in a day." /end of quote. The full title of this book is: "An Essay on Medals: or, an Introduction to the ~~Knowledge~~ Knowlege (sic) of Ancient and Modern Coins and Medals; especially those of Greece, Rome, and Britain."/Only the short title appears on Vol. I/

Get it

The edge marking story is discussed at length (with a lot of mis-information) in the Numismatist 1928, March p 151, & April p 237 & 242; May p 293. Particularly good (nothing new) are S. H. Chapman's comments on p 242-April, in which he quotes from his catalog of the Alvord collection. ". . .for the third stage, (the coins from 1792-1804 were) fed into the coining press and held by a loose, plain collar. . ." In the May issue W. W. Neil infers that the diameter goes with a given set of "milling" edge dies; I never ran into that idea any where else; I always thought they used different sized cooky cutters to make the weight come out accurately despite uncontrollable variations in thickness. (I apparently can't prove it.)

Get it

Here's an interesting item which shows how the diameter grows when a coin is struck in a loose collar: Mason's Coin & Stamp Collectors' Magazine, V3#1, Jan 1869 p2: (Presumably by the ed. Ebenezer Mason) "Peculiarities of American Coins, No. 10. "Were the Cents and Half - cents with lettered edges coined previously to, at, or subsequently to the time they were thus lettered?" This question is answered by a piece in my cabinet, which I know to be a planchet intended for a 1793 Half-cent. It is lettered on the edge TWO HUNDRED FOR A DOLLAR. The operation was then performed before the piece was stamped.

Get it put in 1-4

"How do I know that my planchet was intended for the year 1793? For these reasons. It is smaller than the other halves with lettered edges, -smaller it is true than any of the year '93, but after coinage the expansion would probably be right for the smallest size of this date,- it also had two indentations just before the word TWO. All the other years have but one indentation, just after the word DOLLAR."

The official US Mint position on terminology is given in the Numismatist Dec 1943 "Reeded" or Milled"? letter from Edwin H. Dressel, Superintendent.

Another description is to be found in AJN V10 #3 p59; Jan 1876; tells about necessity for annealing.

I probably mentioned it before, but don't fail to consult the 2nd Mint coinage technique descriptions in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XXIV, Dec. 1861 p 16;"Making Money. / II. The Mint at Philadelphia." The Index for the bound volume ascribes the article to Waldo Abbott. There are numerous line drawings of the machines, including the circular version of the Castaing machine, presumably the one designed by Franklin Peale, and written up in Sellers' "Early Engineering Reminiscences."

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Your CHAP. III. DISAPPEARANCE STORIES.

Page 2-D 1/3 way down, suggest "metal value" in lieu of "intrinsic value."

CHAP. IV. CHANGES IN COIN PRODUCTION METHODS BETWEEN 1804 AND 1836.

I'm not familiar with early US silver & gold; only copper. You & Sellers say the reeded edges were put on with the Castaing machine, and you are probably right. However, with all the slippage in this machine, there must be some awful botched up edges. I should think that even when things were adjusted well nigh perfectly, that each coin so rolled would have either a small bare spot or else a small area of overlap of the edge reeding. Do they? Which early US coins have reeded edges.? I'm not at all sure I have this information.

Middle of p 1-H: "incused" lettering or "incuse" lettering?

p 2-H. Footnote Dr. Dickeson's "Numismatic Manual"; not "numismatical." Oops! You're right. It's "Numismatical."!!

p 3-H. Dentils & Dentilation. I learned about these from Dr. Sheldon's "Early American Cents" as DENTICLES. The largest dictionary I have gives your "dentils" a clean bill of health, altho "dentilation" is missing. Newcomb also uses "denticles" in "US Copper Cents 1816-1857." I like "SERRATION" better than any of them.

". . .rotating it in a lathe" sounds like many RPM, whereas you mean stepping off the small increments of one complete revolution. Don't you suppose they had some crude dividing engine to secure an integral number of serrations, or did they "eyeball it?" I imagine they stepped them off with a pair of dividers, making scratches on the soft metal to lay it out. The center hole for using the dividers to lay out circular star patterns on the copper cents is found on many reverses and some obverses; undoubtedly this center hole was also used to lay out the serrations accurately with respect to radial distance.

p 3½-H. Suggest "radial" expansion instead "lateral" expansion.

p 4-H. Franklin Peale's trip to Europe was written up in Sellers' "Early Engineering Reminiscences"; also in The Numismatist, Dec 1958, p 1473 in the article by Sister St. John Nepomucene. Her interest is mainly chemistry. Are you sure you want to add the word "die" after "collar" at each instance of its occurrence? I believe contracts were awarded for the machinery for the branch mints at about the same time as for Philadelphia. This is in Sellers' work. You are probably aware of the rare First Steam Coinage medal bearing the date "Feb. 22, 1836" (must have been struck on the screw press!) in addition to the commoner one dated "23 March 1836." The latter were recently offered for sale at the Mint, and presumably still are. You might use the much quoted item by James Watt Sept 17 1809 eulogizing Matthew Boulton at his death re the virole brizee or however you spell it; see H. W. Dickinson's "Matthew Boulton" (1937) p 204 ". . .The split collar was found to be difficult of execution, & subject to wear very soon when in use, & in short very unfit for an extensive coinage. Other methods were therefore adopted and it was laid to rest."

Dec 1958 Numis No

p 6-H. Suggest "before the new planchet was pushed into position"

p 7-H. In Nov 1961 NSM p 3152 there is an interesting unsigned item

re why "Off-center Coins don't break Collars."

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CHAP. V. DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF 1804 DOLLARS

Believe it's SERIF rather than CERIPH.

p W-4. Someone will wonder why you omitted mention of 1794 cents. ".. .curve or arc. . " Isn't fillet the word for this?

- -

CHAP. VI. DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1801, 1802 AND 1803 PROOF DOLLARS

p1-A. Please consider "mated" or "married" in lieu of "combined." Please consider "business strikes" in lieu of "normal production of coinage."

Suggest SERIF.

p3-A line 1, don't you mean "1803 and prior thereto"?

p4-A serif.

- -

CHAP. VII. CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO THE 1804 AND TO THE PROOF 1801, 1802 AND 1803 DOLLARS.

No

pP-2. Footnote 1. I thought a beaded border was like on the 1793 Liberty Cap cents. See also NNM No. 131, The Coinage of the First Mint of the Americas at Mexico City 1536-1572" by R. I . Nesmith, p98.

Not applicable

p3. While I don't believe Sheldon mentions it, some of the "radial" serrations around the borders of 1797 cents were carelessly made and aren't quite radial; see Sheldon 120 picture.

p 4. ". . on some 1834 cent dies and in 1836. ."

p 6. Suggest ". .radial expansion." ". . ~~xxxx~~ radial movement."

No

Suggest "close collar".

No

p 8. You postulate that the old bust punch would have been thrown away if it had failed to the point where a new punch must be made. I don't think you could be at all sure of that. Some were saved in pretty crumby condition. See the 1819 N9 obverse cent punch in ANS museum; I suppose the mint didn't save this; but somebody did.

p9. 2/3 down; believe substitute 1804 Class I in lieu 1801 Class I.

No

p 10. On 1794 cents, I've seen some evidence of deformation of edge lettering due to uneven outward flow or copper when coin was smacked extra hard in striking; not very much deformation, however.

p 13. Suggest "It has been asserted. ." Suggest "under type."

More later.

R. H. Williamson

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan 15, 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Just to be sure you are properly exposed to Sellers' Early Engineering Reminiscences, I'm going to quote you a few items.

Part I. ". . .Dr. Robert Patterson, then in charge of the mint, and Adam Eckfeldt, chief coiner, were together frequent visitors at our house on the court; . ." (Around 1812; Sellers firm made the first steam knuckle press, designed by F. Peale, which went into operation March 23, 1836; F. Peale was the half brother of the mother of the author, George Escol Sellers.) Near nepotism.

Part II.
"Franklin Peale was selected and appointed and went abroad on the mission in May, 1833, and he was engaged in the investigation about two years, . ."

"Prof. Robert M. Patterson . . was a warm friend of Mr. F. Peale, and had great confidence in his philosophical and mechanical ability. . ."

"Mr. Eckfeldt was a man of staunch integrity, a cautious, careful, orderly and painstaking man. . ."

"Mr. Peale's natural bent being mechanics, his mind ran from his (assay dep't) (ass't assayer up to 1836, melter & refiner to 1839, chief coiner 1839-1854) department to improving the machinery of the coining, and Mr. Eckfeldt availed himself of his suggestions, in a moderate degree. The first instance that I can recall to memory was to import a die-sinking lathe."

Part III. "Mr. Eckfeldt gave full credit where it belonged, and I remember him becoming quite enthusiastic over the labor saving in duplicating working dies."

"He (F. Peale) dwelt much on the value of progressive (sic) up to absolute pressure to be had by the toggle (knuckle) for coining instead of the blow or impact given by the screw with its flying weights."

"That firm (Merrick, Agnew & Tyler) built the first coining press for coining dollars and half-dollars that went into operation in the fall of 1836. . .For the first Peale press the patterns and castings were made at our (Sellers) works, the forgings made and finished from drawings" (which he still had; this went into service as "first steam coinage 3-23-1836.) "The (Sellers) press was then regularly put to work on the copper cents of that period, in the fall of the same year when the dollar press was put to work."

"A total change was made on the face of the coins. . . .The model in relief of the flying eagle on the reverse. . . was designed and modeled

by Titian R. Peale. From these relief models, which were about 6" diameter, castings were made to be used as templates or tool guiders in the die-sinking lathe. . . .Although the die-sinking lathe was a labor-saving tool in the rougher portions of die sinking, it did not dispense with the final delicate hand finish, yet Mr. Charles Gobrecht, who was then die sinker, was much opposed to its use."

"Mr. Peale's improvement in the draw-bench. . . was followed by the rotary milling machine for raising the edge of the planchet, which did its work rapidly, only requiring attention in keeping the feed tube supplied with planchets. This was a beautiful machine from an artistic point of view, as was all the machinery devised by Mr. Peale, who brought to his work the refined eye of an artist. Through a hollow column from a tripod base the driving shaft unseen rotated the milling wheel or die by a cam arrangement within the circular table; the planchets were fed from the screwing tube, (sic) all the work being automatic, dispensing with the labor of a skilled hand, and doing the work with not less than ten times the rapidity."

"The small steam engine, so architectural in design, that for many years drove the steam coining presses until their increase called for greater power, was, from its high finish and silent movement, a most attractive object to all visitors to the mint, was of his design, and was constructed under his supervision.. . .During the construction of the engines and machinery of the branch mints, both Dr. Patterson and Mr. Peale were frequent visitors to our (Sellers') works. . ."

"The bulk of the inventions were put into practical operation while Mr. Eckfeldt was chief coiner, and it was not until his retirement in 1839 that Mr. Peale got his reward by being advanced to that position, giving him the management and control of the products of his own brain work. . . "

"It was alone, as I understand it, due to the doctrine of rotation in office, regardless of fitness, and 'to the victors belong the spoils,' that Mr. Peale was removed from his position at the very zenith of his usefulness." (1854). (Didn't Breen go into the long-winded investigation prior to Peale's "retirement" in the study of the Longacre double eagle of 1849, and wasn't Peale fired or eased out due to the use of the mint machinery for personal jobs?)

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CHAP. VIII THE ORIGIN OF 1804 "ORIGINALS"

P U-1. I simply can't bring myself to agree that Eckfeldt & DuBois in 1842 "sincerely believed that dollars were struck in 1804 and in 1805 and could be dated 1804 and 1805." Remember that the <u>picture</u> of the 1804 dollar in this book was made by means of the new Saxton die-sinking lathe or engraving machine from an actual <u>specimen</u>. Please read ever so carefully pages 186-189 of Eckfeldt & DuBois (1842) to get the feel of this machine, and how it was used to make pictures in the book. There seems to have been some kind of conspiracy in the mint to <u>picture</u> an 1804 dollar as typical of that period's dollar coinage on other occasions. All editions seen of Evans' History of the mint (p40) show a whole counting frame pictured full of 1804 dollars, and I think I've seen them elsewhere altho cannot locate tonight. A few years ago, Walter Breen was of the considered

opinion (which I did not share, but he is generally right!) that it was utter child's play to make a new die from any sharp coin by means of the Paxton lathe (not really a lathe at all), and that it could be made larger or smaller than the original at will. The "shakedown tests" of new mint machinery constitute a wonderful time for the boss (rather than the regular workmen) to perform some monkey-business without too many people knowing about it. I've never heard of any particular friendship between Gobrecht and Peale, but they must have both been in on the making of the first batch of 1804 dollars as principals, and Eckfeldt & DuBois were mighty gullible if they got a picture taken from a specimen in their book without seeing and knowing about the specimen.

p U-8. Jacob Bausch Eckfeldt, if you want a middle name. (Stewart p86.) In the Numismatist for April 1926, p 191, the writer shows Phila was full of Eckfeldts then and probably still is; hope they are not too sensitive. Presumably J. B. Eckfeldt was in on the 1860's chicanery; he worked at the mint 64 years until 1929; d 9-9-1938, age 92; see Numismatist Oct 1938 p 86.

I think you have taken exactly the right tack insofar as the "guilt" of the makers of the first batch of 1804 dollars; neither too much nor too little. They were made in "an idle hour" at the mint. (Breen dug up that expression and used it in some of his CCJ articles; I can't find it right now; he also described the proof press acquired in 1817 and I can't find that either.) I should think all the 1801-2-3-4 proofs were made on the proof press which is hydraulic I believe today; Breen described it as "hydraulic" then too, I believe; I think it was more likely a screw press, altho you state (p U-9) that "the old screw presses were no longer available." Urge you check that one.

The ref to Ridell at the end of the Chapter is a honey.

It's midnight, so will sign off for now.

(End of review, Chap. VIII.)

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

January 16, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Ray:

Ken Bressett, of Whitman Publishing Company, spent the weekend here in St. Louis going over details for the book and I am sending it up for typesetting just as soon as I make the corrections and additions based on your suggestions. We went over the photographs and everything will be pretty well illustrated.

I am just amazed at your ability to pull out references to the subject from just reading the manuscript. What a pleasure it is to have someone understand the difficulties in the proofs which I have tried to present.

I eagerly await the balance of your suggestions. Forgive me if I do not include them all as the printer has indicated the book is getting too long.

There is no one I could think of who could write a better review of this book than you and if you would do it Ken and I would be most grateful.

Thanks, again, for your cooperation.

Cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan 20 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Now for CHAP. IX. THE DIPLOMATIC GIFT DELUSION. No comments.
CHAP. X. THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN STICKNEY AND THE U. S. MINT.

p K-2. For more information (which you don't need for this story!) on Dr. Roper, see "Collecting U. S. Large Copper Cents" by R. H. Williamson, in Selections from the Numismatist, U. S. Coins, p 102.

p K-3. You give Stickney honors for being the most experienced person in American numismatics in 1842. J. J. Mickley of Philadelphia would certainly be a close second. He started in 1817. See p 101 and note 1 of above reference. Mickley's collection had everything.

p K-5. I can push your "16-cent" quotation for a Pine Tree shilling back one more year from 1850 to 1849; I have a copy of Thompson's "Coin Chart Manual" for 1849, "Compiled and arranged by J. Thompson, Stock & Exchange Broker, 64 Wall-street, New-York." We find the obv & rev of the Pine Tree shilling illustrated under "Silver Coins," with the title: "Pine Tree Shilling, 16 Cents."

p K-6. Smithsonian Institution.

CHAP. XI. THE SCANDAL OF 1858. (Isn't 1859 a more probable date? see top of page M-6. You have used "1858" in dozens of places in the pages which follow.)

You list a number of references to "Archives of the United States." I believe a more modern reference would be "National Archives." Nearly all the search work done by Walter Thompson -- he of the secretive references -- has been in Record Group RG-104, altho his Dudley and Mint of North America items have been in RG-217. I'm enclosing a Thermofaxed 1957 National Archives sheet entitled "Information for Searchers Citing Records in the National Archives." The suggested footnote citations given therein are rather more long-winded than you will care about, but they are better than Thompson's fuzzy or omitted references. If you wish full and modern references to Thompson's source material, I urge you write, enclosing what material you have, to:

Mr. Lyle J. Holverstott
Chief, Treasury Section
Legislative and Fiscal Records Branch
National Archives,
Washington 25, D. C.

don't have

p M-5. Reference missing.

p M-6. For letter, suggest supply the year in brackets: [1861]
Footnote needs source reference.

p M-8. Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson

?

p M10½. 2nd footnote needs basic ref.

p M-12, last paragraph. At first, I questioned this statement. But I now believe you mean: "None of the people outside the Mint who were making comments ~~for publication~~ re the discovery and recall of the plain edge 1804 dollars during the 1858-60 period seems to have been in the know regarding the fact that the actual striking date for the first group of 1804 dollars was many years later than 1804." Surely in 1859 there were people in the mint who knew about the late 1836 striking -- by texture of the coin if in no other way.

CHAPTER XII. AFTERMATH OF THE SCANDAL.

p S-2. Footnote needs primary source reference.

p S-6. On becoming Chief Coiner in 1866, . . .

CHAPTER XIII. THE BATTLE BEGINS.

I am correct

p N-1. Line 6, isn't the AJN issue July, 1867?

CHAP. XIV. AFFADAVITS AND OPINIONS ABOUT THE 1804 (?)

p 2-E, line 5. Re 1836 as date when close-collar techniques were first introduced, Breen* makes a strong case that they were progressively introduced 1828-1836. Of course, no dollars were struck in this period before 1836, so close-collar techniques for dollars were first introduced in 1836. These techniques must (by a process of elimination!) have been applied via the Merrick, Agnew & Tyler coining press which went into service in the fall of 1836 (See last full paragraph at bottom of page 1 of my 1-15-62 letter to you.) This idea contradicts my speculation re the medal or proof press of 1817 being the one which was used. Frankly I can't prove anything re which it was it this point, but your book would make a distinct contribution if you could figure it out. Breen points out that the Director's Report (date?) for 1835 "specifically mentioned that 'one of the engravers at the Mint is engaged in preparing a dollar die.'" CCJ Sept - Dec 1954 p 6 re Gobrecht. I've just re-read Breen's Gobrecht data, and find it offers ideas as to what might have gone on with respect to 1804 dollars. On p 13 there is an enlightening letter from Director RMPatterson to Chief Coiner Adam Eckfeldt 9-22-1836: "The dies for the new dollar having been sunk by Mr. Gobrecht, and the impressions approved by the Treasury Department, I am exceedingly desirous that you shall take, without delay, the necessary measures for an early issue of dollar coins. For this object I pray you to have the hubs and working dies prepared, and the proper arrangements adopted for cutting and milling the planchets, and coining them in the large screw-press, the pieces being struck in a close reeded or grooved collar.

"The employment of the screw-press is only to be temporary, and

* CCJ - Vol 18 #5 p 105; 9/10-1951.

you are aware that it is of great importance that the lever-press for dollars (Merrick, Agnew & Tyler. R.H.W.) should be completed at as early a date as possible. . . ."

Breen: "In spite of these instructions, none of the Gobrechts of 183 6 were struck in a reeded or grooved collar; . . . .though the Gobrecht half-dollars were struck with reeded edges in a steam press, the dollars of 1836 were made on the largest screw press at hand. " (I think Breen is mixed up in 2nd paragraph, p 14 of Gobrecht; he states that "The "lever press" (geared to steam) was completed long afterwards by Adam Eckfeldt with some outside technical assistance;. . " Actually, Sellers "first steam coinage" press was a lever press adapted from Thonnelier's patent by Peale; so was the dollar press introduced in the fall of 1836, parts for which were furnished by Merrick, Agnew & Tyler.) Breen's Gobrecht p 23: Director RMPatterson to Geo Newbold, pres of Bank of America in NY Sept 9 1836. "We shall be coining half dollars by steam in a few days, and we shall issue them somewhat improved in their face, and a tenth of an inch narrower. We are getting rid of Blood-power as fast as we can." (More.)

Sellers in Part III of Early Engineering Reminiscenses -- The USMint, says twice that the Merrick, Agnew & Tyler dollar press went into service in the fall of 1836: "That firm built the first coining press for coining dollars and half-dollars that went into operation in the fall of 1836, at which time Mr. Eckfeldt was chief coiner. . . The (Sellers) press was then regularly put to work on the copper cents of that period, in the fall of the same year when the dollar press was put to work."

To return to CHAP. XIV:

Yes p 5½-E "Bosbyshell was the agent of Ellsworth. . " Gotta ref?

✓ p 10-E First line: suggest add "assertions" to the list.

CHAPTER XV. WHAT ARE THE 1801, 1802, and 1803 PROOF DOLLARS

✓ p T-2 line 2, suggest "adjustment" in lieu of "condition."

CHAP. XVI. ALTERATIONS AND OTHER FAKES.

X ~~X~~ p 3-B. First ref fails to include name of magazine. Oops! It's up above.

p 5-B. Eckfeldt & Dubois p 189 says an electrotype negative is needed to make the picture. It occurs to me that the hub-die or as some say "Hob die" would do an even better job. As far as I know, no one has suggested that the 1836 changes did anything to the sequence of generations of: master die, hub die, coinage die (~~XXXXXX,XXXXXXX~~, ~~XXXXX~~ (incuse, relief, incuse). The coming of the medal-ruling machine added a king-size "relief" version 6" in diameter ahead of this series. It may well be that the first "incuse" in the above series was also 6" in diameter. Sellers says "From these relief models, which were about 6" diameter, castings were made to be used as templates or tool guiders in the die-sinking lathe. To get these castings satisfactory many experiments were tried in our foundry, finally

settling on a kind of speculum alloy not too hard for hand finishing."

CHAP. XVII. THE 1804 HALF DOLLAR ALTERATION. No comments.

CHAP. XVIII. SUMMARY.

p Z-1. Line 6, suggest "proofs and evidence" in lieu of "reasons"; "proofs" alone is precisely correct, but would get mixed up with the concepte of a "proof coin."

Line 8, believe the flat border etc. adopted 1829 rather than 1828; that is begun 1829, and adopted piecemeal to 1836. Breen. . .oops! 1828 is right; Breen CCJ 9/10 1951 p 105 says disme with small date was first silver coin on which new coinage techniques were used, in 1828.

Bottom line. You are undoubtedly right in saying that "a plain collar die (was) used only in the steam operated lever presses which were first installed in 1836." Where did you get the info? You probably explained it on the way, but I missed it!

p Z-4. "Errors in published coinage records . ." All I've seen have been meticulously correct as to deliveries of coin from a comptroller's point of view; but date on coin and date of delivery did not always gee; nor did coins always comply with law which said coin should bear date of year in which struck.

Too young

p Z-6. Jacob Bausch Eckfeldt was one of the main wheeler-dealers in restrikes etc. And I don't think there could have been any 1804 "original," without the contribution of Gobrecht and Franklin Peale.

- -

Your diagrams are superb. Where did you get the data? Work it from words back into pictures? On the diagram of the Castaing machine, it would seem that a very small angular rotation of the hand crank would mark the edge; perhaps the gear should be smaller diam. Does such a machine survive anywhere you ever heard of?

In the title of the diagrams for the steam-operated knuckle press, you might consider the plural "presses" to include both the Sellers cent and half-dollar press plus the Merrick, Agnew & Tyler press for Dollars and half dollars, both of which went into service in 1836. Does such a press survive?

Yes Fresh Inside

- -

Regarding the proof press of 1817, it is most unfortunate that American State Papers - Finance, Vol. III fails to include the Director's report for 1817, altho it includes nearly all the others up to 1827 or so. If you have access to the 1817 report, I urge you consult it to see if it says anything about the proof press, or more likely "medal press." It seems to me that if somewhere along in the 1830's the US Mint quit making proofs & medals on the 1817 press (screw press), and started using a steam-driven lever press for this class of work, THERE SHOULD BE AN OBSERVABLE CHANGE IN TEXTURE OF PROOFS AND MEDALS AT THIS TIME.

Maybe you already used this item, but in J. R. Snowden's "The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the U.S." (1861) we find in the preface: "In the early part of the year 1859 it occurred to the writer that it would be interesting,. . .to collect and place in the Cabinet of the National Mint one or more specimens of all the medallic memorials of Washington which could be obtained. At that time he did not know of the existence of more than twenty of such memorials. The Cabinet of the Mint contained only four or five specimens besides the pieces known as the Washington Cents. During an investigation subsequently made, it was ascertained that there were at least sixty different medals, etc. of the above character. To obtain specimens of these medals and of such others as had escaped notice, a circular was issued inviting the assistance of the public to procure them. The newspaper press seconded the effort by giving a general notice of the request, and many collectors of coins, with other gentlemen, have rendered the most valuable and efficient assistance. . . . . We have been enabled to gather. . .one hundred and thirty-eight specimens. . . .A small medal, described on page 42, and represented in Plate XIV was struck in May, 1959 (Must it not have been started then in 1858?), to commemorate the commencement of the Cabinet. . . .J.R.S. Sept. 1860." The medals are very well pictured in this book, including National and misc medals. I'm not a keen enough judge of fabric to draw any conclusions, at least in the time available; maybe you can get some ideas from this source. Valuable biog data on Mint Directors plus Adam Eckfeldt is at the end. Of Eckfeldt (Adam) we learn that after his resignation in 1839, "He continued to visit the Mint daily, for some years after, and take part as an amateur." (Whatever that means.

- -

In reviewing my comments, I seem to have a built-in contradiction as to the culpability degree displayed by the Mint officials 1836-42. I gave you a long-winded story on rottenness in government at that time, which you believe is about the same today. Well, cynicism over evil-doing in government is with us always, I suppose, but it goes in peaks and valleys, too; right then it sure was on one heck of a peak. I expect the Mint officials were honorable men, immersed for a long time in the cynical climate of that situation; and they finally yielded to temptations and did things which they knew were wrong, but compared to other things which were going on, they hardly realized they were sinning. Also, there were few precedents in this country to show them what would happen as a result of their actions. Therefore, I think that the degree of culpability you have described is, on balance, just about right.

Do you want your Thermofax copy of the text returned to you? I'll send it if you want it, but from my point of view I'd give you no additional help by doing so.

John Willem (offered! ~~secured~~) a long-winded review from me on his Trade Dollar draft before publication, and then I did a book review in the April 1960 Numismatist. The fact I earned a nice credit line in his book and then did a rave review looks a bit odd in retrospect. (I couldn't help giving the 1804 book a "rave" review, too! It sure merits it.) Therefore (without saying "I won't do it"), I'd appreciate it if you'd make a determined effort to secure another reviewer --say

owns 1801-2-3 proof#.

J. J. Pittman, or John Willem (who are ANS fellows) or J. J. Ford (who should be.) By the way, Willem is doing a "History of the US Mint" in his spare time. I told him it should take ten years of so, but he is the kind of guy who would scratch out the seven-year itch in three years.

I am well aware that I'm giving you perhaps 10:1 or 20:1 more ideas than should be developed in your book. It is my desire to play over for you a lot of thoughts which come into my head, most of which I too would discard for the book once I'd fully thought it through. But I wish to have you make the selections of ideas to use from as wide a range as I can summon up in the time available. XXX For example, you seem to go for the Fiction story on the 1804 dollar struck on the Fourth of July -- and I agree; but if I'd been culling ideas at this end, you'd never heard it mentioned.

Well, I guess that about wraps it up for now. I dislike sending you a series of "composition drafts" instead of letters as the time cycle has made it necessary to do in this case. I know you'll forgive the occasional lapses in English and organization. And I'm glad I had a chance to do it. It has been fun.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

You may keep
RAH
1-24-62

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Following is a list of persons who have indicated their willingness to make searches in records for a fee. We are sending it to you in response to your recent request, which we are returning.

If you wish to engage the services of a person whose name appears in the list, please correspond directly with that person. We can neither inform you of rates charged by him, make arrangements for obtaining his services, nor assume responsibility for searches made by him.

The names on the list are preceded or followed by symbols. An explanation of the meaning of each symbol appears below.

* Will perform research in fields other than genealogy.
A. Will normally handle inquiries when immediate search is specifically requested.
B. Will normally handle inquiries when considerable typing is entailed.
C. Holds an earned degree from an educational institution.
D. Has published articles or books in a field of research related to his investigations in the National Archives.

Will undertake research in the following types of records:
1. Civil War draft records
2. Military service records
3. Passenger lists
4. Pension application files
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Will undertake research relating to the following subjects:
7. Agriculture
8. Economics
9. Finance
10. Foreign affairs
11. Immigration
12. Legislation
13. Military affairs
14. Postal service
15. Public lands
16. Ships and shipping
17. Weather
18. Numismatics

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Searchers reside in Washington, D. C., unless otherwise indicated. The numbers in parentheses represent postal zones.

Alfonte, Mrs. James R.	4411 Que St., N.W. (7)	A, B, 1-5
*Baer, Frank L.	4513 Brandywine St., N.W. (16)	A, B, D, 1-20
Baer, Mrs. Mabel Van Dyke	4513 Brandywine St., N.W. (16)	A, B, D, 1-6, 15
Bowden, Mrs. Allie M.	4514 Connecticut Ave., N.W.	A, D, 2-5
Brantley, Mrs. Hazel D.	1428 21st St., N.W.	C, 1-6
*Cobb, Samuel S.	P.O. Box 6127, Apex Station	A, C, D, 1, 2, 13, 16
*Dengler, Harry M.	1505 Van Buren St., N.W. (12)	A-D, 1-6, 7, 9-17
Dorman, John Frederick	2311 Connecticut Ave., N.W. (9)	A-D, 2, 4-6

(Over)

*Duffy, P. Joseph	1312 16th St., N.W.	A, B, D, 9-16, 19, 20
Emery, Mrs. Doris Montgomery	2900 Connecticut Ave., N.W. (8)	1-6, 15
*Estabrook, Arthur H.	1829 Summit Place, N.W.	A-D, 1-5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14
Fay, Mrs. Mary B.	8 Grant Ave., Takoma Park, Md. (12)	A, B, 1-6
Fisher, Miss Elizabeth J.	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	1, 2, 4, 5
Fitzgerald, Mrs. Rena C.	6205 Eighth St., N.W. (11)	A, 5
*Frazee, Harry W.	1911 R St., N.W. (9)	A-C, 2-6, 7, 13, 15
Frazee, Mrs. Harry W.	1911 R St., N.W. (9)	A, B, 1-6, 19
Gillespie, Mrs. Stella Mercer	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	A, B, 1-6, 13, 19
Gosman, Mrs. John H.	7401 18th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.	A, B, 1-5
Grandy, Miss Jessie P.	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	A-C, 1, 2, 4, 5
*Hellmuth, Mrs. William F.	3932 Military Road, N.W. (15)	A, C, 2, 3, 5, 12
Heppen, Mrs. P. J.	3617 Fessenden St., N.W. (8)	A, B, 1-6
Hook, Miss Margaret E.	2116 Kalorama Road, N.W. (8)	A, B, D, 1, 2, 5
Humphrey, Mrs. Anne MacKenzie	804 Circle Terrace, Alexandria, Va.	A, D, 1-5
Huyler, Miss Emily Irene	3200 Alabama Ave., S.E.	B, 4, 5
Main, Mrs. Alberta T.	4702 Huron Ave. (23)	A, B, 1-6
Major, Mrs. Nettie Leitch	2231 Bancroft Place, N.W.	A, B, 1, 2, 4-6
McDonough, Miss Mellnotte	1915 K St., N.W.	A, B, 1-6
McEachern, Mrs. Eulalie Owens	10115 Connecticut Ave., Kensington, Md.	B, 3-5
Merritt, Miss Frances F.	P.O. Box 144, Benjamin Franklin Station (4)	A-D, 1-6
Miller, Mrs. Debbye Jean	4950 Western Ave. (16)	C, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
Miller, Miss Martha Porter	2311 Connecticut Ave. (8)	B, 1-6
*Molloy, Timothy J.	4109 W St., N.W. (7)	A-D, 8-16
Morgan, Mrs. Jo Love F.	2812 N. Sycamore St., Arlington, Va. (7)	A, B, 2-6
Morton, Mrs. Nell R.	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	D, 1, 2, 4, 5
*Nolen, John M.	918 18th St., N.W. (6)	B, C, 3, 4, 16
North, Dexter	5415 Connecticut Ave., N.W.	A-D, 1-6, 19, 20
*Poole, Miss Martha Sprigg	4340 Verplanck Place, N.W. (16)	B-D, 3-5, 10
Pruitt, Mrs. William O.	892 National Press Building (4)	A, C, D, 2-5
Pryor, Mrs. Joseph E.	1701 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. (6)	B, 2, 4, 5
*Reinders, Mrs. Alice K.	4545 MacArthur Blvd., N.W.	A, B, D, 1-6, 15, 19
*Rudd, Miss A. Bohmer	1819 G St., N.W. (6)	A, B, D, 1-6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16
*Rudd, Mrs. Gladys C.	4729 Queenschapel Terrace, N.E.	1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 15
Russell, Mrs. Annie V.	3032 Rodman St., N.W. (8)	A, C, 2, 4
Schreiner, Mrs. Nettie Yantis	2737 S. Buchanan St., Arlington, Va.	A-C, 1-6, 19, 20
Searcy, Mrs. Margaret S.	2009 N. Upland St., Arlington, Va. (7)	A-C, 2, 4, 5
Shaw, Mrs. Jessie Owen	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	B, 2, 4-6
*Sheridan, Mrs. Pearl J.	1609 Hickory Hill Road, Falls Church, Va.	A, B, 2-6, 11, 15, 16
*Slaughter, Rozella	1705 Lanier Place, N.W. (9)	A, B, 2-5, 12
*Smith, Mrs. Agnes C.	P.O. Box 409, Benjamin Franklin Station (4)	A, C, 1-6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20
Smith, William G.	P.O. Box 7319, Benjamin Franklin Station (4)	C, 1-6
Steele, Miss Eva Belle	1673 Columbia Road, N.W.	A, C, 5
Thomas, Meriwether Graves.	P.O. Box 230, Benjamin Franklin Station (4)	1-6
*Thompson, Walter E.	7600 Morgan St., Alexandria, Va.	B, D, 18, 20
Thummel, Claude B.	1714 Reddfield Drive, Falls Church, Va.	A, C, D, 1-6
Thummel, Mrs. Dorothy L.	1714 Reddfield Drive, Falls Church, Va.	A-C, 1-6
Tomlinson, Mrs. Joseph R.	2128 Suitland Terrace, S.E. (20)	B, 2-5
*Tomlinson, Mrs. Malcolm C. W.	3820 Southern Ave., S.E. (20)	A, B, 1-6, 11, 13, 15, 16
Tunnell, Mrs. Katherine Greer	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	A-C, 2, 4-6
*Van Zee, O. H.	1325 Terry Drive, Falls Church, Va.	A-C, 1-6, 10-12
Vickers, Miss Rose	514 19th St., N.W. (6)	C, 5
Washington, Mrs. Elizabeth H.H.	1515 32nd St., N.W.	C, 4, 5
*Wechsler, Miss Rose	5415 Fourth St., N.W.	A, B, 1-6, 10-17
*Weeks, Miss Estella T.	14th & Clifton Sts., N.W., Apt. 409, South	A-C, 1-17
Weeks, Miss Frances W.	4964 Eskridge Terrace, N.W. (16)	A, B, 1-6
West, Edward H.	802 Fourth St., Laurel, Md.	A, B, D, 2, 4, 5
West, Mrs. Edward H.	802 Fourth St., Laurel, Md	A, 2, 4-6
*Wilson, W. Lindsay	5232 Macomb St., N.W. (16)	A-C, 1, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13
Wolfe, Mrs. Virginia M.	4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W. (16)	A, B, 1-6
Wright, Mrs. Dora Lee	1101 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. (5)	A, 1-6
Wright, Harold Lee	1101 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. (5)	A, 1-5
*Yeo, Mrs. Freeda Thomas	P.O. Box 987, Benjamin Franklin Station (4)	A, C, 1-8, 19

GSA WASH DC 59-9722

January 24, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Your wonderful notes and comments have all been received and they are worth publication in themselves. They have certainly reassured me of the fact that you cannot state anything which is not accurate and clear without getting your fingers slapped.

It is through you that I obtained the Sellers manuscript photocopy and it is the basis of my drawings. Wait until you see the pictures which are going to accompany this book as it will make the situation more vivid.

There is no more need for the thermofax copy which I sent you since you have made your suggestions in writing and you certainly can keep it.

Jacob Bausch Eckfeldt apparently was only 13 years old in 1859 so he was used by his father to sell the coins.

There is one of the 1836 steam presses at the Franklin Institute, in Philadelphia, according to information coming to me.

The problem of whether to date the monkeyshines at the mint in 1858 or 1859 is not too important. I realize that the coins might not have been made in 1858 but since that date was referred to in literature in the past I cannot ignore it. There was a gap in time between the making of the coins and their sale.

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson

I sincerely want you to review the book and the remarks which may be made in the front of the book about your helpfulness make no difference, The book was finished when presented to you.

John Willem is in the West Indies Recreation business and I had a nice letter from him.

John Ford may write something but he may have his own ax to grind. You are the only one who is capable of writing a review without an ax to grind. I believe that if the book is worth while that your status in reviewing it is sincerely meaningful.

I will look into the matter of the hydraulic press. It could not have had a collor die since lettered edge half dollars could not be made with a collor die. Coins with a plain edge might be slipped out of a collar easily but coins with a reeded edge would stick in so tightly that it would require improved mechanics to extricate them. Even today there is a slight taper of 1% on the collar die so that the lower die can reject the struck coin.

Again, many thanks for your promptness and the ordeal which I inflicted upon you. Please apologize to your wife for letting me take so much of your time.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Jan 28 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

The attached letter dated Feb 29, 1960 was so far along that I've finished it for your use. That is the one I bogged down on two years ago that caused the gap in our correspondence (Mosser would call it a "lacuna" and the engineer would call it a "hiatus.") I then discovered that some of the arithmetic didn't add up, some of the entries were missing or illegible in my notes or on the microfilm of part of this material I bought, and I just gave up. Now I'm smartening up and sending it along just as it is.

In case you haven't reviewed this material in the Archives and wish to do so, the attached material will be a tremendous time-saver if you'll spend an hour studying it before you start out in the Archives.

Happy hunting!

Very truly yours,
Ray Williamson
Raymond H. Williamson

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA
Feb. 29, 1960
(Must be leap year!)

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.,
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Your Jan. 19 letter certainly deserved an earlier reply, but here we go a month late.

I've never run into Walter Thompson, but have formed several opinions not too complimentary. "Reading between the lines" in conversations with those scholarly, courteous, discreet people around RG-104 at the National Archives, I judged they were burned to a crisp by his series of articles in NSM entitled "The Archivist." You see, they are proud to be "Archivists" and he is a "Searcher"; not a very scholarly one at that. He has since abandoned the use of "The Archivist" title in NSM, for which praises be. I must give the man credit for actually going to press instead of being a perfectionist (as I suppose I must be), but I'm vastly irritated at his vaporings, conjectures and sheer speculations (mixed with 5% facts) upon which he builds such stupendous conclusions.

You seem to be interested in the Archives; you may welcome the enclosed Thermofax data on this institution, received during the past year. They'd be happy to send you originals of this stuff if you are interested. Thompson is their only listed searcher on "numismatics." I assume you have your free copy of the 38-page "Preliminary Inventories No. 40 -- Records of the United States Mint at Philadelphia" compiled by Lyle J. Holverstott and Jean McNiece, Washington, 1952. I have only visited the place twice, but by being not too demanding or hurried, they have given me much free searching, beginning in 1948. Of course one must pay for microfilm or other reproductions. The search room for Mint Records, Record Group 104, is Area 11-E (11th Floor, East Wing.) The double-entry bookkeeping records of the Government under the Continental Congress are in RG-217; beautiful script -- some books must be 30" high and weigh 50 lb. RG-217 also contains fiscal records under the constitution; for example it contains actual vouchers authorizing a very high percentage of detailed expenditures, one by one, since the early 1790's. The Foreign Affairs Section RG-(?) contains a lot of early mint correspondence, too. (See Stewart's "History of the First U.S. Mint, page 199.) I gave Breen the word on this last big batch of Mint material when he was on his first assignment at the Archives for Wayte Raymond and I was over in Italy for a year in 1950. On a new subject, my correspondence is directed to Mr. Lyle J. Holverstott, Chief, Treasury Section, Legislative and Fiscal Records Branch, National Archives, Wash'n 25. Such requests are answered by a variety of people.

maybe 6 times 1-21-62

I had some research for a fee at the British Museum, and disliked the experience intensely. It's really a detective game, and one must have his heart in it rather than an interest in the fee.

I can and will give you citations for the Mint of North America accounts. There is no secret about it; the people there will give you references or copies if you will ask for them.

Here's a start on how you go about finding items in the fiscal records of the US government under the Continental Congress:

Go to the search room in area 11-E and request Holverstott's people to bring you "Records of the General Accounting Office," originally located in the Register's Office of the Treasury Department, now in Record Group RG-217, Fiscal Section of the Legislative, Judicial and Diplomatic Records Branch. These double-entry manuscript records of government accounts are in three categories:

WASTE BOOKS(so labelled.) In later years such records were called "blotters"; today "journals." These huge books contain "work papers" from which the JOURNALS and finally the LEDGERS were compiled. Since authorizing vouchers, receipts and "reports" in this period generally are missing, the waste books typically contain the most detailed information extant. They are arranged chronologically by entry, altho the entries are sometimes delayed many months after the transactions. They are unindexed and very voluminous. Waste books C, D and E include entries from August, 1781 to August 1785. Pages are consecutively numbered in each volume; each page number is preceded by book letter, as "C404".
FIRST PAGE IN LEDGER "E" IS "E1"

JNLS C & D BOUND IN SAME COVER; pp 1116-1375 FOLLOWED BY JNLS 81T & 82T IN RG53; pp 1376-1471 & 1472-1931 RESPECTIVELY

JOURNALS. Posted from Waste Books. Chronologically arranged but in less detail. Not indexed. A given entry may be chased back to the Waste Book details by entry date, or forward to the Ledger entry by tabulated Ledger page numbers for debit (D^r) entries and for credit (C^r) entries. (The columns of Ledger page numbers in the Journals are generally headed FOLIO if at all.) Journals B and C cover the years 1781 - 1786.

LEDGERS. Posted from Journals. All entries on a given subject or person are grouped together (much abbreviated) on a two-page spread, the left-hand page being "D^r" for this account and the right-hand page being "C^r". Accounts are unarranged, but are well indexed, so your search should start in the Ledger INDEXES. Each Ledger entry refers back to source entries by page numbers in the Journals. From the Journal entry, the date of entry can be established and details located in the chronological Waste Books. Ledger B covers the period 1776 - 1789, and begins with page 512. 419?

You can see that this type of research is very, very time consuming and requires the closest attention to trace accounts and be sure you have all pertinent entries. I'm going to type off for you the ~~LEDGER~~ entries ~~only as~~ on my notes for the accounts of Benjamin Dudley and for the Mint of North America.

(March 7, 1960)

LEDGER B, all on [redacted] p 593. Account of Benjamin Dudley, employed by the Superintendt Finance.

Dr.	ORIGINAL ENTRY Date	Journal B Page	Transaction	Ledger B Page	/$ & 90th's/
	June 15, 1782	735	To John Swanwick	421	289 69
	July 22	755	To John Swanwick	557	59 78
	Oct. 17	796	To Tench Francis, Agt.	586	84.40
	Nov. 6	809	To John Swanwick	557	210 9
	Dec. 31	844	To John Swanwick	"	85
	April 2, 1783	910	To Treasury Warrants	712	75 24
	Nov. 14	1025	To ditto	"	160 00
	Nov. 26	1031	" "	"	266 60
	Jany 7, 1784	1067	" "	830	296 80
					1528 --
Cr.	Jan. 6, 1784	1067	By Mint of North America	742	1528 --

- -

LEDGER B, all on [redacted] p 742. Account of Mint of North America.

Dr.	ORIG. ENTRY Date	Journal B Page	Transaction	Ledger B Page	/$ & 90th's/
	Apr 2, 1782	910	To Treasury Warrants	712	5 18
	May 5	931	"	712	72 00
	Aug. 4	975	"	712	22 42
	Jany 6, 1784	1067	Benjamin Dudley	593	1528 00
					1627 60
Cr.	Red balance 1627 60		a/c 745		

- -

LEDGER B, all on p 760. Copper.

Dr.	Date (ORIG. ENTRY)	Journal page	Transaction	Ledger B page	$ & 90'th's
	Oct. 18, 1791	2428	To Gen'l Acct of Copper	997	14 828 1
Cr.	Oct. 18, 1791	2429	By sundries	?	3 985 77
			By ditto	?	10 842 24
					14 828 1

NOTE ERROR IN ADDITION SHOULD HAVE BEEN 11/90

- -

It is suggested that you write to the National Archives and request a quotation for copying

- -

(Cont'd Jan 28 1962. Never will know how the above sentence was to have been finished.)

Note: In the above extracts, and those following, most of the column headings are supplied by me rather than being written in the mss books; a mastery of their meaning will be a time saver if you consult the Archives for this material or related entries.

Apparently there are other pertinent LEDGER entries that I haven't recorded on the following LEDGER pages:

LEDGER page	
712	Warrants drawn in 1783 for Contingencies
741	(?) Benjamin Flower, late Commiss^{y} Genl Military Stores, his a/c of Public Stores
830	Warrants drawn in 1784 for Contingencies.

- -

Next, I will list all the JOURNAL entries that I have recorded corresponding to the above three batches of LEDGER entries. The chronological JOURNAL entries can be located from LEDGER data both by "original entry date" and by JOURNAL page No. as listed in LEDGER.

JOURNAL B; each entry is to be found in the actual JOURNAL B on the page listed in left-hand column below.

Dr. Journal B page	Date of Original Entry	Ledger B page	Transaction	$ & 90th's
735	June 15 1782		Sundries, Specie, Dr. to John Swanwick, Treasurer to the Sup't of Finances.	
		593	For Benjamin Dudley, employed by the Supt of Finance	289 69

LEDGER B, all on p 760. Copper.

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Dr.	Journal B page	Date of Original Entry	Ledger B page	Transaction	$ & 90th's	
	755	July 22 1782		Sundries, Specie, Dr. to John Swanwick, Treas. to the Supt. of Finance.		
			593	(To) Benjamin Dudley, employed by the Sup't of Finance	59	78
	796	Oct 17 1782	593	Sundries, Specie, Dr. to Tench Francis (to) Benjamin Dudley For Eighty four Dollars 40/90	84	40
	809	Nov 6 1782		Sundries, Specie, Dr. to John Swanwick, Treas. to the Supt. of Finance.		
			593	(To) Benjamin Dudley	210	9
	844	Dec 31 1782		Sundries, Specie, Dr. to John Swanwick, Treasurer		
			593	(to) Benjamin Dudley	85	
Cr.	909	April 2 1783		Benjamin Dudley, his receipt for 17 ton 2 cwt 1 lb of Rough Copper &C, Dr. to Benjamin Flower, late Commiss^y Gen'l Military Stores,		
			593/741	his a/c of Public Stores. For Two Thousand six hundred and thirty Dollars 12/90 #3024 (Voucher No.?)	2630	12
	910	April 2 1783		Sundries Dr. to Treasury Warrants drawn in 1783 for Contingencies.		
			593/742	Benjamin Dudley - - - - - - - -	75	24
				Mint of North America - - - - - -	5	18
	931	May 5 1782	742/712	Mint of North America Dr. to Treas. Warrants drawn in 1783 for Contingencies	72	00
	975	Aug 4 1782	4 742/712	Mint of North America Dr. to Treas. Warrants drawn in 1783 for Contingencies (Treas. Warrants List 1783 No. 194 & 195)	22	42
	1025	Nov 14 1783	593/712	Benjamin Dudley Dr. to Treasury Warrants drawn in 1783 for Contingencies #3453 (Voucher No.?)	160	
	1031	Nov 25 1783	593/712	Benjamin Dudley Dr. to Treasury Warrants drawn in 1783 for Two hundred Sixty Six & 60/90	266	60

Dr. Journal B page	Date of Original Entry	Ledger B page	Transaction	$ & 90th's
1067	Jan 6 1784	742 / 593	Mint of North America Dr. (to) Benjamin Dudley #3518 (Voucher No.?)	1528
1067	Jan 7 1784	593 / 830	Benjamin Dudley, Dr. to Treasury Warrants drawn in 1784 for Two Hundred Ninety Six and 80/90 Dollars	296 80

- -

Lastly, there follows a sample group of WASTE BOOK entries, namely the group for June 15, 1782 totalling $289 69/90, mentioned briefly on Journal B page 735, and on Ledger B page 593; also the group for Oct 17, 1782.

In the first case (typical), please note that the link from either JOURNAL or LEDGER back to WASTE BOOK is the date of original entry in the WASTE BOOK, June 15, 1782. This date of original entry may be months or years later than the date of the transaction.

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WASTE BOOK "C" page C404
Date of Waste Book Entry: June 15, 1782

Sundries Dr. to John Swanwick, Treasurer to the Supt. of Finance (Robert Morris.)

Voucher No.(?)	Benjamin Dudley. Employed by the Sup't of Finance.		
204	Nov. 10 (1781) Paid him to enable him to discharge James Thomson's Bill for Expences at said Thomsons	15.19..3	
205	Nov. 27 (1781) Paid him to discharge sundry expences	18.15..-	
206	Jany 2, 1782 Paid him to defray his Expences & Ca	23.10..5	
		£58..4..8	
	Swanwick's a/c No. 3 equal to		($)155 26
234	Jany 28, 1782. Pd him to defray his Expences &Ca.	18.15..-	
235	Feby 25, 1782. Pd him to defray his Expences &Ca.	10..-..-	
236	Mar 26, 1782. Pd him to defray his Expences &Ca.	11.19..-	

Voucher
No.(?) Benjamin Dudley (Cont'd)

237 Pd him to defray his Expences &Ca. 9.14..7
(April 29, 1782)
£50..8..7

Swanwick's a/c No. 4 equal to ($)134 43
($)289 69

Note: This total figure $289 69/90 shows up on Journal B p 735 and Ledger B p 593. WastE Book C, Journal B and Ledger B all have the entry date June 15, 1782, in common, but see above for seven corresponding transaction dates, all earlier.

- -

WASTE BOOK "D" page D51
Date of Waste Book Entry: Oct. 17, 1782.

Voucher
No.(?) Sundries Dr. to Tench Francis of Philadelphia

Benjamin Dudley
For his Receipt dated Boston October 13th (1781)
for Seventy Six Crowns = to 84 40

- -

Note that the above entry places Dudley with Francis in Boston on Oct 13 1781. Circumstantial evidence is 99.99% sure that he travelled on Francis' treasure caravan over back roads from Boston to Phila (the British were in NYC). Robert Morris had written several letters to be sure he did come on this caravan. The ox teams arrived in Philadelphia Nov 6 and Dudley asked for money in Phila first on Nov 10. The caravan consisted of 14 wagons mounting 14 treasure chests each containing 18 small boxes, each small box containing 1440 French Crowns, corresponding to a total of 362,880 crowns. From the Govt accounts the load would be $390,737. I copied acres of this stuff once at the Mass Hist Soc Library; later I found a lot of it published in "Heath Papers", Serial 7, Massachusetts Historical Collections, V5, p244. However, there is a lot of it which isn't published too -- some written at the lunch stop over en route, sitting in a saddle. Apparently Dudley was also mixed up in getting the "public copper " down from Boston by ship to Phila for Robert Morris; that copper ended up in the Bank of North America in the 1790's.

After a suitable breathing spell, if you want to get what I have on Dudley, maybe we could get together on a story. He was a spectacle-maker too! Enough for now. Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

February 15, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

[redacted]

The book is at the printer's and I could tell you over and over again how much I appreciate your wonderful cooperation. The energy which you put in to the compilation of material in your letters was overwhelming. I will never forget it.

With respect to ANS they wrote me that the February meeting would be very routine and that President Milbank would not be there so I plan to go to the March meeting. I will be interested to see if they recognize why so much commotion was made over getting someone to represent American numismatics. I hope I will not be treated as a minority stockholder. I will give you a complete report as to what takes place.

You were very wonderful to finish the letter which you started to me two years ago and it is just as exciting today as it would have been then.

Walter Thompson has hardly changed as he still does not give his citations and expects you to rely on him personally. He has improved, however, with experience and has turned up some interesting items.

February 15, 1962

Mr. Raymond H.Williamson

I am enclosing an interesting answer which I received with respect to the 1817 and 1818 mint reports.

There would be nothing nicer than for the two of us to get together on the Dudley story. I found a newspaper comment concerning him in Rhode Island and I believe I have some citation which reads that he is the most skilled diemaker that ever was on the American Continent. I have no idea which file these are in but suspect they are in my Fugio material.

I will write you at length in due course but merely wish to give you a preliminary report with thanks for all your continued cooperation.

Most cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Feb 25 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

The "Pembroke Plates" book (1746) was superbly packed for shipment and arrived in excellent shape. How very thoughtful of you to send such a treasure. What a tremendous tome! Many thanks to you for it. This is of course one of the principal references for your story in NNM 142 on "The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling," and as such this volume will occupy an honored place in my library.

I'm so very happy to have helped you to membership on the ANS Council. Now that all the phone bills are in, I find them not too onerous and well worth the cost; so no memo to you will be necessary. Such expenses are small indeed compared to yours in getting to meetings in New York City. (I hope ANS isn't kidding you about "no particular business of importance at this meeting," so that they might cite your absence later as a reason for seeking a replacement when your one-year term is up; that was the reason verbally cited by Pres. Milbank for Douglas's place being open.) Please let us be thinking about who, in the New York area, could be guided into Council Membership (in addition to yourself) as a champion of American Numismatics.

All right! I'll review "The Fantastic 1804 Dollar." It should be reviewed widely, as a matter of fact, only one of which should be prepared by me. Do you have a preferred plan in mind? Something perhaps to appear in The Numismatist which Whitman could also use in their ads?

By the way, what's with Lynnn Glaser's being co-author per p31 of Feb 16 Coin World? (Photo title of Glaser's picture: "Lynn Glaser, columnist and co-author of the forthcoming "Fantastic History of the 1804 Dollar" and "Art in American Coins," examines the Grant Die.")

From your Feb 15 letter, I'm glad to learn as I've always suspected that you are not a narrow-contracted coin collector but that you have time too for community service such as being active in your school interest. I have a number of such irons in the fire here at Lynchburg, although activity strictly associated with schools is not in order since the Lord never saw fit to bless us with any kids. I've worked hard pioneering here the first teen-ager from abroad as a part of the American Field Service Program; we have a girl from Sweden going to High School here and located in a Lynchburg home. Also I'm Governmental Affairs Chairman for Central Virginia Industries, now pushing for state-wide redistricting on a basis of the 1960 census; I also pioneered here the NAM version of the Practical Politics Seminar, with the 6th series now running.

Not only does Walter Thompson fail to include citations in his published material, but apparently Lee Hewitt aids & abets him in this practice (or at least is satisfied with it.) Let me share with you an exchange with Hewitt last fall:

11-26-61, Wmson to Hewitt: "In late years I have been so very pleased to see more and more primary source material on early U. S. coinage in NSM. A further improvement -- and an easy one -- would be to always cite primary source reference. This often enables a future searcher in the field to go into the subject in greater depth if he desires.

"Such a policy would make the numismatists of the year 2000 very grateful to you, although I suppose it would help little to pay last month's bills. Anyhow, please consider it.

"Specifically, where did you get the gem re "Eckfeldt's Employment Contract" on page 2844 of the October 1961 issue? Many thanks for the word."

11-29-61 Hewitt to Wmson: "The Eckfeldt Employment Contract came from the National Archives.

"I've hired Walt Thompson to systematically search the Mint files in the Archives and copy anything of interest -- so I have lots of little gem fillers on hand."

What a way to run a RR!

All the time I was slamming thru the 1804-Dollar review, I kept having the feeling that I'd been this way before some time. I find it absolutely incredible that I'd forgotten writing you a nine-page letter on this general subject on Dec 24 1959; but so I did, as I find a copy in my file. I'm glad to note there seem to be few if any contradictions between the two effusions; in the earlier one I was able to cite the reference to several sizes of cooky-cutters for each denomination so that the weight might be kept within tolerance despite uncontrollable variations in thickness -- it is an unindexed and fleeting statement on p 272 of Craig's "The Mint."

By the way PLEASE correct a typographical error of some consequence in my 1-21-62 letter, near bottom of p2. It was in 1951 (NOT 1961) that Mosser, Breen & Mosher visited the National Archives together.

Re the Archives' 1-9-62 letter to you regarding no Reports of the Director of the Mint for 1817 and 1818: Walter Breen told me that they were all written, and that he had waded through them in mss in ~~RG 204~~ RG104 to correct some typographical errors which he suspected and found in the printed versions. Some of these Mint Reports (I had assumed all of them) are also to be found in the "Annals of Congress" series; also the ANS Library has some in the first decade of the nineteenth century printed as separate pamphlets -- I've seen them -- maybe they have 1817 & 1818.

All the misc Seaby Bulletins, Thonellier patents etc. loaned to you came safely back to Lynchburg some days ago. Thanks for being so prompt.

Hope you'll forgive me for lack of continuity, but here's more on Walter Thompson. 3-1-61 Thompson to Wmson: "I don't know if I made it clear to you, but the only reference necessary for a document from the Mint records is its date. They are all classified and in chronological order." (Some yes, some no. R. H. W.)

". . .I am concerned at this time with James Ross Snowden's tenure as Director of the Mint. We have hints and suspicions of what went on and I have high hopes of being able to clear up some of the mysteries."

3-2-61 Wmson to Thompson: "Re citations concerning material found in The National Archives, they have published a little pamphlet . . 'Info for searchers citing records. . ."

"Admittedly their various alternative scholarly recommendations are a bit too far up the ivory tower for NSM; however, in RG 104 there a great number of different series of books and loose letters, each generally chronological; therefore, it would seem desirable to cite"RG104" , the name of the series from which the citation is secured, the writer , the addressee and the date. . . .Much numismatic writing of a century ago is marred by lack of references, so that the reader can never be sure whether the statements are idle speculations of the writer or based on good sound documentation. I try to not perpetuate this situation."

3-4-61 Thompson to Wmson: ". . David Kimball, Park Historian, Independance National Park, Phila., Pa. is interested in collaborating in obtaining more information a bout the Mint of North America. He is on the look out for where it was located. (In an account book. RHW) He is my source for the information that on October 28, 1783 Dudley was chosen to make a die for the purpose of striking and finishing a medal on the order of The State Society of the Cincinnati (Penna Journal Oct. 29, 1782) This has also been verified from the proceedings of the Penna. Society of the Cincinnati that on October 4, 1783 it was moved that Mr. Dudley, an artist lately removed from Europe should be employed by this Society to form a die. . . " This is the same year that the Nova Constellatio Patterns and coppers were struck. It would seem to me to be added evidence that the same people were instrumental in striking all.

"The material I have published I hope eventually to correlate when I have reached the year 1892. This I hope will turn out to be a book entitled THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE U.S. MINT.

"I have another book in the mill - FROM WAMPUM TO DOLLARS. I have gathered most of the material for this but will wait for a year or two to push for publication. One chapter remains incomplete - THE NOMINAL SHILLING - do you have anything on this?"

(AND RIGHT HERE IS WHERE THE ANS SHOULD BE IN THE ACT. IN ENGLAND

THEY SOMEHOW GET PEOPLE OF THE CALIBER OF SIR JOHN CRAIG AND C. WILSON PECK TO WRITE THEIR MINT HISTORIES; in this country we get Dickeson and ~~Mitchell~~ EVANS and Stewart (who had his good points) and now Thompson! Of course John Willem is going to take a cut at it too, and it might be a wonderful job.

Anyway, our correspondence ended with my reply of 4-16-~~62~~ 61: ". . All the Dudley items in Evans Mint History books were copied verbatim (including errors!) from Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p 30-32, Jan 1867. You will find some accounts of the specie caravan, Boston to Philadelphia, fall of 1781 (Dudley accompanied Tench Francis at the behest of R. Morris) in the Correspondence of Gen'l Wm. Heath, Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1904-5, Mass. Hist. Soc. Re Dudley, see also letter in Papers of the Continental Congress, (Nat'l Archives, No. 78, Iv, 225-6) from John Bradford in Boston to Samuel Huntington in Philadelphia. . ."

The same EVANS material (including copying errors) is also to be found as item HM 18782 in the handwriting of Benson J. Lossing entitled "The United States Mint from Robert Morris's Diary;" this is in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino 15, California. While the errors and omissions are not earth-shattering, they are worth fixing up if & when you & I get to collaborating on these events. A sample error is in the entry for Nov 12, 1781: "Sent for Mr. Dudley to consult him respecting the quantity of Alloy Silver will bear without being discoloured, he says he can put 6 drops into an ounce." Should be ". . .6 dwt into an ounce." I spent a Saturday years ago with the microfilm of Robert Morris's Diary & Letterbooks in Butler Library at Columbia University. The originals are again available in the Library of Congress; they were out being rebound for quite a spell.

While we are writing the History of the US Mint, have I as yet given you my soap-box speech on why the ANS should make Julian Boyd (Papers of Thomas Jefferson) of Princeton ~~and Honorary~~ a Life Fellow (no dues) for his work on coinage history appearing in Vol. VII 150-203 & elsewhere. Then get him to rework this material and publish it in NNM; also the wealth of material re Droz in the latest volume (19?); also he has come up with a key paper in the Mitchell-Boulton correspondence missing from the 1931 book by that name edited by C. B. Mitchell. He has already published a dozen letters or so re Droz that I had previously laboriously copied from ~~mss~~ MSS in The National Archives. Since apparently I'll not soon get around to publish on Droz, I would like to feed what I know to Boyd (we have corresponded off & on for ten years) and get him to write a NNM on Droz; another on Mitchell; and another on Jefferson-Morris-Morris. I have absolutely no idea how Boyd would take to all this, but he presumably is a colleague of Louis C. West and Erik Sjoqvist. In this manner, we might get some American Numismatics written up in a scholarly fashion as it should be. What say?

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHGWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

April 1 1962

The American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156th Street
New York 32, New York

Attention: Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Mosser:

The scholarly numismatic efforts of Dr. Julian P. Boyd in Volumes 7, 16 and elsewhere in his Papers of Thomas Jefferson are worthy of a much wider numismatic audience, such as those who receive your Numismatic Notes & Monographs.

While it is true that his numismatic material would need some de-bugging and polishing for the NNM audience, it is equally true that the difficult, scholarly, time-consuming searching of source material has been done by him and should not be lost to numismatists. Also, there is more to be published, particularly with respect to Jean-Pierre Droz and American coinage.

I have sought unsuccessfully to interest Dr. Boyd in ANS membership. (This is not altogether presumptions on my part, since we have corresponded intermittently for a decade, and occasionally I have been able to help him with a coinage problem.) In the future, I'm leaving the door open for Dr. Boyd to reconsider his interest in applying for ANS membership.

In the meantime, the purpose of this letter is to ask you if you ever publish material submitted by non-members. I would like to be able to urge Dr. Boyd to seek numismatic publication of his material on almost any terms which ANS might deem appropriate. Dr. Boyd's numismatic material is beautifully indexed, but still buried in the Papers of TJ, since this work is likely to run 60 or more volumes at (as I remember) $12.50 each. The average student of American numismatics will never have this set in his own library, nor will institutional numismatic libraries be likely to have these volumes. (For example, does the ANS Library have all or any of them?)

Please let me have your thoughts and recommendations on this important subject.

Very truly yours,

Raymond H. Williamson

Eric – How's the book coming along? Best regards!
Ray Wm son

April 3, 1962

Mr.Raymond H.Williamson
933 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

The galley proofs on the book were just received and have been sent back for correction. As soon as I get a copy with the pictures in and with the arrangement in order I will send you one.

I have been told that George Fuld is ill and will not be able to give the talk at ANS on April 14. If I could prevail on them to ask you,or Dr. Julian Boyd,to talk in his stead on the Droz matter, would that be an interesting program?

My very best wishes.

Cordially,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

bc:
Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser
American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156th Street
New York 22, New York

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

April 5 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

A note in haste, to reply to yours of April 3.

I'll be most happy to receive an early copy of the 1804 Dollar book.

Regarding the April 14 ANS meeting, I'm nowhere near through the Droz problems, and neither (Iam sure) is Dr. Julian Boyd. Moreover, I'm in no financial position to take a trip to New York at my own expense, except for a most momentous occasion. ANS paid my way once from Syracuse, but they are no business wasting their $ doing so from this distance.

On the positive side, Dr. West of Princeton might persuade Dr. Boyd of Princeton to talk on "The Mitchell - Boulton Correspondence" (1787 - 1792), a story which which he has already completed in his Vol. 16 (as I remember) of his "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson." Boyd speculated on the meeting of Mitchell with George Washington as I had done, altho Boyd researched the incident. Moreover, Boyd supplemented the 1931 book of the same title as above (Edited by C. B. Mitchell, NY lawyer; a collector's item; I have a copy) with a KEY document not too complementary to Mitchell, which the Great . . .grandson editor may have suppressed. In case you are totally unfamiliar with the incident I'm talking about, see Thomas Jefferson's April 15, 1790 report to the House of Representatives on COPPER COINAGE, repeated many places including ASPF I, p44. Many writers refer to John Mitchell as "an alien", whereas he was a young man of an old South Carolina family, temporarily resident in England and acquainted with (and probably related to the family of) Matthew Boulton.

If this sounds interesting to you, why not phone Dr. West to phone Dr. Boyd and get him to New York on the 14th. Boyd would not be able to whomp up a new speech on such short notice, but it is not unreasonable that he should work over the familiar material he has recently researched. Dr. Boyd is a scholarly speaker, and should appeal to scholars; he is not what you'd call enthusiastic, however, as judged by the few times I've heard him. Nevertheless, his methods of finding things are truly inspiring.

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

April 25, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
933 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

I have been waiting, and waiting, and waiting for a corrected galley proof to send you and it is now promised by tomorrow. I don't know whether it will have any pictures or not.

Don't worry about all of the Coin World comments on the 1804 dollar book. I just want to get it out of my hair now.

I did go to the ANS meeting on April 14. Professor Buttrey spoke on Roman coinage following Caesar, a talk he had given to several archaeological societies, previously.

The meeting of the Council was satisfactory and much effort is being put into the summer educational program. I spoke to Mr. Norweb and Dillistin, both of whom are anxious to work in some teaching in the American coin field. The thought is that Columbia and New York Universities, etc. could give credit for a winter course in numismatics in the Classical field and in the American field if the society had facilities to teach such courses during the winter. The summer course is also a basis for University credit but is principally attended by those studying history, primarily, and numismatics only as a phase of it.

Naturally, I had hoped that you, or Dr.Boyd, could speak in substitution for Fuld but they had already made arrangements by the time I had written them.

April 25, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson

I am seriously considering buying the dictionary of the ANS Library, which would be wonderful to own, but I am afraid it would merely agitate my gastric juices because I would not have some of the books available to me in St. Louis.

As far as the 1787 half dollar is concerned, I am sure that a little die study will show that it is an altered date. It isn't worth while to inquire into such ridiculous devilment. These alterations could have been made at any time in the last 100 years and are not products of the Mint.

Another couple are driving with my wife and myself out into the woods this weekend to see nature produce the glorious spring. This type of relaxation is incomparable.

I enjoyed your article in the Mint Edition of the Coin World and feel as though your discovery of the Sellers material is a major contribution to numismatic knowledge. I was impressed with it from the time you first called it to my attention.

I just finished an article entitled "Additions to Coinage for Colonial Virginia" which will be published in the ANS Notes, about June. Since this is your new native state it will bring my previous monograph up to date.

I certainly hope we can meet some time soon. Nothing would delight me more.

My very kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

May 3, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Ray:

I enjoyed your comments in the Coin World with respect to the Boulton matters.

As to the 1787 half dollar, I should have mentioned to you that it might well be a routine counterfeit with a fictitious date. I have others of a later period with fictitious dates and also those which have the edge lettering backwards, in part. Of course, it can be a tooled alteration, in any event.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

May 7, 1962

Dear Ray,

If I buy this "white elephant", you are welcome to borrow it for your purposes at any time and for substantial periods.

Sincerely,

From the desk of

ERIC P. NEWMAN

June 12,1962

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson
933 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Because you have not heard from me in so long, I am just writing you a report.

First, I am going to be in New York working at ANS on Saturday, June 16 and will be there through Tuesday, June 19. If you happen to be in New York, by chance, I did not want to miss you. I plan to stay at the Plaza Hotel if they have room.

I have been beating on Kenneth Bressett to get page proofs made up on the 1804 Dollar book so that you can review it and he is, supposedly, doing that now. The galley proofs have been corrected and recorrected many times. The only humorous item concerning the book is that Breen wrote me that he heard that certain dealers were going to sue the authors on the book and that he would be glad to be an expert witness, even to the extent of shaving off his beard for the occasion. In any event, I felt it was wrong for you to have an uncorrected galley proof with no pictures to try to write a book review on. As soon as the page proofs are available they will be sent to you post-haste.

Your comments on the 1787 Half Dollar and my reply should be clarified. This counterfeit was written up in the 1916 Numismatist and in the 1951 Coin Collectors' Journal and George Fuld commented upon it in the June 8 Coin World. Fuld does not seem to be himself if he writes such comments. He is so intense on doing a fine job for numismatics that he has torn himself to pieces.

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson

I just had a visit from Dick Johnson, who just quit Coin World over salary, primarily. It is just a shame. He told me that they published the 1787 Half Dollar story without showing it to him. They knew that he would not publish things which were ridiculous.

I am going to order the ANS Index and I want you to feel free to borrow it at any time for such periods as it is convenient for you.

[redacted]

I hope, by sheer chance, that we might meet in New York.

My very kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

July 9, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

As I previously told you I was not going to send you THE FANTASTIC 1804 DOLLAR until it was in virtually final form. I find that I will never see it in that shape myself so I might be sure the pictures are right etc. Here is the page proof with only a few minor corrections to be made. It is my only copy. I have added photocopies of those pages with illustrations so you can see what we attempted. There is an index of which I have no proof.

The book is to be printed in July and ready the first part of August. The typesetting is being done in Racine, the offset in Hannibal, and the binding back in Racine. They are sincerely trying to do a fine production job.

Whatever you conclude in your review about the amount of work which went into studying this most written upon numismatic subject cannot be an exaggeration. As to whether we added to or clarified the subject sufficiently is a matter for you to pass on. When I look back on the hours of frustration and concern put into this material, I wonder whether it would have been better spent on other constructive topics rather than this destructive one. I do, however, hope that the readers will be stimulated enough by the Mint history, law, mechanics, rumor mongering, dealers' practices, fraud, concealment by officials, research, bibliography, and other numismatic matters to make the book worthwhile. Otherwise, we have failed. I also hope it shows how important it is to challenge articles written in the past where the motives for their writing were doubtful or the desire to create interesting fiction was uppermost. I also want to leave the impression as to how much information can be gleaned from piecing together facts from partially sound and partially speculative background material.

We are not asking anyone else to review the book. The publishers will send review copies to others after publication. I hope your review will be used for the Numismatist, Scrapbook, Coin World, etc. If there are any facts which you need, please let me know -- or any expenses.

I would like to call the 23rd conclusion the 23rd psalm because the latter is often read at funerals and maybe this is sort of a funeral. If you care to humor your readers, you can work in that corn.

Thank you sincerely for your willingness to do the necessary. My respect and admiration for your writings and knowledge is sincerely profound and that is why you only are being asked to evaluate it. Cut us up, my friend, you have the floor.

My best wishes.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN:fh

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

July 24 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

There is enclosed my book review of "The Fantastic 1804 Dollar" to use as you see fit. It contains approx 490 words, which is about as long as can be used in most places. You will note that I was able to utilize all the ideas (and some of the words!) that your letter suggested. (490 words plus lead paragraph.)

There is also included the composition draft, about double the length of the one to be used; in many ways I like it better, but there is no use in trying to place one so long-winded. You may keep it.

If you don't like any of my conclusions (about enhancing the value in the market-place, for example), please call me up and we can re-work it on the phone. It would be a shame if Walter had to shave off his beard so as to appear a credible witness!

The Review includes no statement on the Index. It is better than many, but a Subject Index is always a blessing.

Please have Whitman insert the selling price. The book will be cloth as stated, I assume, or else please change.

The page proofs are being returned by surface mail today (7-25-62).

Coin World is going to hell in a bucket without a numismatist on the staff.

Thanks a million for the offer to use the ANS comprehensive index. I'll be requesting!

Your family sounds very stimulating -- I'd like to meet them.

The page proofs awaited me when I returned from a vacation in upstate New York -- along with an awful lot of other things to do. Sorry to hold it so long, but here we go. There are some very few typographical errors(?) marked in the page proof which you may wish to scan.

I did not mention anything "about the authors" because I knew practically nil re Bressett.

Will be writing re ANS as soon as I get a little un-snowed, and a little cooler weather. Best regards. This book is a monument to you as a numismatist and as a detective!

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

August 2, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
933 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Thank you for the very interesting review. I felt that it was very stimulating and the only change I suggested is shown on the enclosed photocopy.

I sent the review to Ken Bressett and he feels that you should not spill the beans as to the conclusions of the book. I believe he is in dreamland. If he thinks anyone will not want to read the book because you give the conclusion that the coins are concluded to be bad, then numismatists are bigger boobs than I thought. The conclusion is about as obvious as Billy Sol Estes. However, he is the publisher,and is interested in selling the book, and if he wants to rewrite the last portion and submit it to you I will be glad to cooperate.

I imagine you have seen Walter Breen's article entitled "The 100 Year Vendetta" in the Scrapbook. It takes a nasty crack at A.N.S. which is entirely uncalled for but Walter has his strong prejudices which gives him satisfaction in stating. He even contradicts some of the the things in the Fantastic 1804 Dollar book because he is just that uncooperative. The result is that he has published some new errors of fact.

Thanks, again, for the nice comments about the book.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

"The Fantastic 1804 Dollar" by Eric P. Newman and Kenneth L. Bressett. Associates in Research: Walter H. Breen and Lynn Glaser. Copyrighted 1962, published and sold at $ by Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin. Library of Congress Cat. 62-19453. Cloth, 144 pp, incl. Index of Names and 47 illus.

This definitive "1804 Dollar Book" is the acknowledged product of the research efforts of a four-man team of seasoned numismatists and scholars in the field of United States coinage. Each man had worked independently on the subject on and off for many years. Vigorous collaboration began in 1959. The text was written by Newman, while the very substantial efforts of Bresett yielded the pedigrees and illustrations of each of the 14 known specimens. The authors cite the copperation of some 49 people & seven institutions; they also refer with scholarly precision to some hundreds of literature sources. Yet the book is easy for the neophyte to read -- in fact breezy ~~in places.~~ at times.

American numismatics will benefit greatly by this exemplary team performance, as compared to the commoner numismatic secretiveness, which often delays planned personal publication while the author hopes for fuller information until the grim reaper intervenes and the data are lost. Some fine day, U. S. numismatists may see a team-produced "History of the United States Mint" to compare favorably with the superb publication Sir John Craig has produced for the British Royal Mint.

Since/all events concerned with the actual coining of the 1804 dollars occurred over a century ago, and the coiners and subsequent owners of these specimens often took fantastic pains to suppress vital information, some first class modern detective work was absolutely necessary to get the story. Data for many of the conclusions are disclosed by the coins themselves, with relation to the chronology of changing mint techniques during the decades in which they might have been coined. For example, proof sets of U. S. silver dollars dated 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804 reached numismatists through ~~the same~~ early dealers; no U. S. proofs were struck until 1817; the raised flat borders of these specimens were of a style first adopted at the U. S. Mint in 1828; the dies of these were of smaller diameter than used in the 1804 period so that they might be used successfully with the close collar and steam-operated lever press introduced in 1836.

In fact, the disclosed by-product of hard-to-find, authoritative mint history -- both of people and of techniques -- is a veritable feast for anyone who collects old United States coins. For those who may wish to/explore sources in greater depth for future specialized research, numerous ~~186~~ footnotes cite ~~perhaps 250~~ specific documents, many of a nature that incite the reader to acquire a comprehensive numismatic library of his own. Examples: Ed. Frossard's Numisma, Ebenezer Mason's Coin & Stamp Collectors' Magazine, Mehl's Numismatic Monthly, E. J. Attinelli's "Numisgraphics," John J. Hickox'x "An Historical Account of American Coinage," Dr. J. L. Riddell's 1845 book "A Monograph of the Silver Dollar," and of course the 1842 book by mint officials Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. DuBois: "Manual of Gold and Silver Coins."

While most collectors of United States coins can never afford ownership of a U. S. silver dollar dated 1804, they will find rewarding material on every page of this book. They will be stimulated not only by the detective work on the 1804 dollar, but also by mint history, law, the mechanics of coinage, rumor mongering, dealers' practices, fraud, concealment by officials, historical research, and the revelations of early numismatic books. Enlightening to many will be the schematic diagram of the old-style Castaing machine used in the first U. S. Mint for lettering and upsetting the edges of coins. Apparently no such machine has survived -- not even a picture of one.

A couple of important lessons for future numismatic authors are built into this book: First, it is vital ~~to~~ that today's writers challenge the printed word when it can be deduced that the author's motive ~~is~~ was to conceal or to create interesting fiction rather than to communicate truth; and second, it is entirely possible to piece together with confidence a jigsaw puzzle of facts from partially sound and partially speculative source material -- with care and patience ~~;~~ and a tight rein on the purely imaginative~~;~~, the precise shape of a few missing pieces can be established with excellent probability.

In the Preface of the Newman & Bressett book, a quotation appears from "Dye's Coin Enclopaedia" (1883): ~~appears:~~ "There is no authentic history of the 1804 dollar. Tradition, however, is 'thousand tongued" in its regard." This statement was apropos for may decades before and after 1883, despite the hundreds of pages in books and periodicals composed to "enlighten" readers on the subject; but it is not true today. It would be most difficult to exaggerate the ~~hundreds~~ thousands of man-hours required to research this complex, controversial, frustrating subject. While a few facets of the story can never be absolutely determined, the authors arrive at 23 definite conclusions near the end of the text. The twenty-third conclusion, while not as beautiful as the twenty-third Psalm, has a common theme making both suitable for reading at funerals:

> 23. There are no genuine 1804 dollars and those struck from mint-made dies which bear that date are ante-dated fantasies. The "King of American coins" is an imposter.

All but the most utterly irreconcilable will be firmly convinced. Yet the publication of this book is more likely to enhance than to depress the ~~xxxxx~~ market-place valuation of collectors' specimens. The United States silver dollar dated 1804 still is the "King of American Coins;" through history, few kings acted less kingly because they were illegitimate.

Raymond H. Williamson
ANA 9482
July 21, 1962.

The honor of being Poet Laureate is said to have been withheld from Rudyard Kipling because he authored an irreverent ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ballad about an English king in this unenviable position. Perhaps then, neither Newman nor Bressett will ever be honored by being offered the Directorship of the Bureau of the ~~U. S.~~ U.S. Mint.

August 8, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

I have now received a letter from Ken Bressett in which he indicates he likes your review very much. The changes to be made are now trifling and are as follows:

The price is $3.50.

The cover is Vinyl coated board cover.

The number of illustrations is over 50.

He now concedes that you are not spilling the beans by giving the conclusions and recognizes that you are right in that respect.

He does not want to indicate anything about the valuation of the coin so that the last paragraph has been changed to read as follows:

"All but the most utterly irreconcilable will be firmly convinced by the authors' conclusions. The United States silver dollar dated 1804 ~~is~~ still is the "King of American coins"; throughout history few kings acted less kingly because they were illegitimate or usurpers."

Would you be nice enough to approve the changes indicated.

The book will be on the press August 13, 14 and 15 and ready for distribution on August 24.

Sincerely,

EPN/atb

KEEP - EXTRA COPY.
TALK FOR SYR COIN CLUB. (NOT WELL REG'D.)
SOME TIME IN 1953.

THE "WHY" OF AMERICAN PAPER MONEY

By R. H. Williamson, Syracuse, N. Y.

MOST OF MATERIAL IS PARAPHRASED OR QUOTED FROM "ESSAYS ON THE MONETARY HISTORY OF THE U.S." BY CHARLES J. BULLOCK.

-RHW 10-3-54

THE BEGINNINGS OF COMMERCIAL CREDIT IN EUROPE

During the last half of the seventeenth century, public and private credit had been developed in the countries of northern Europe on a scale previously unknown. Naturally enough, the "ground rules" for the successfull and ethical operation of a credit economy were at first little understood by the leaders of the commercial world and were not understood at all by the man in the street.

Get-rich-quick schemes burgeoned on a gigantic scale. Some of the better-known of these unworthy enterprises were the South Sea Bubble in England, John Law's projects, the English Land Bank Scheme and in France the Mississippi Scheme. It must be remembered that both the organizers and the dupes in these ventures found themselves in trouble as much from lack of knowledge of economic laws as from villainy or cupidity. Government regulation was unknown.

All these diverse schemes had one important element in common -- the use of some other medium than money as the basis for a paper credit. Many of these fallacious notions were spread by the publication in England of William Potter's book "The Key of Wealth or A new way for Improving of Trade," which appeared in 1650.

In England, the existence of more settled industrial conditions and the possession of a comparatively large supply of capital facilitated the growth of sounder views concerning the true nature and proper basis of credit, but these lessons were not learned until much sad experience had been gained from unsound banking ventures. As late as the English period of non-redemption in specie, 1797 - 1819 all the forces of unreason had to be most vigorously combatted before

it was generally admitted that the premium on bullion was due to the depreciation of the paper currency because of over-issue, and not to an alleged scarcity of hard money.

EARLY COLONIAL CREDIT IN AMERICA

In the British-American colonies, the economic conditions weree precisely the reverse of those which prevailed in the mother country. All circumstances favored the persistence of erroneous ideas. It is true that the immigrants to the British plantations were an enterprising and resolute people whose very survival often depended upon their ability to hew a living out of an unfriendly wilderness. However they brought with them no knowledge of monetary science, and were ofter miserably poor. Moreover, what little money they possessed frequently had to be converted into other forms of capital upon the arrival of ships from England, resulting for many years in an "unfavorable balande of trade." They were always short of money, always in debt, and resorted to the use of barter, beaver skins, teballo and wampum for a local medium of exchange.

Small wonder then that, in 1661, we find Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut entertaining "proposalls for concerning a way of trade and banke without money." Private banks for issuing paper money were established in Massachusetts in 1671, 1681 and 1686. Their security was conjectural, but probably consisted of "such Real Estates of Lands, as also Personal Estates of Goods and Merchandizes not subject to perishing and decay." While these projects were short lived, they represent the colonial interpretation of theories then prevalent in England.

FIRST COLONIAL-GOVERNMENT PAPER MONEY

In 1690, Massachusetts emitted its first public; that is, paper

money issued by the colonial government. These bills were distinctly an American innovation, being the first government paper money issued in Europe of America. The other British-American colonies soon followed the lead of Massachusetts and issued their own government bills of credity

In a short time, such government or "public" issues in the colonie became so common as to divert attention from private banking enterprises, although private issues continued up to 1741. In that year, the English Parliament interfered by extending to the colonies the provisions of the "Bubble Act" of 1720, which had been passed to suppress such swindles as had occurred during the time of the South Sea Company.

COLONIAL LOAN BILLS

A second excuse for the issue (and over-issue) of bills of credit was first found in 1712 in South Carolina. The Colonial Legislature started a public loan bank, and issued bills that were loaned to its citizens at interest, upon real or personal security. These bills entered into circulation. This expedient was followed in varying degrees by the other colonies.

COLONIAL PAPER-MONEY ABUSES

As a result of the over-issue of public bills of credit by the colonial governments, paper money became the chief medium of exhhange, and drove hard money from the channels of trade. The bills were ostensibly issued to meet a deficiency in coins, each colony holding that it was deprived of a metallic currency by an unfavorable balance of trade or by over-valuation of the Spanish dollar by its neighbor. Actually, the notes were issued to meet ordinary expenses of government, to build public buildings and to engage in military adventur

Thus the lack of knowledge of economic laws among the various colonial legislators -- and in some cases downright villainy -- led to flagrant abuses of the privilege of issuing both forms of paper money. These abuses followed a repetitive pattern, that differed only in degree and details among the colonies. Bills of credit were issued for the payment of current expenses and emergencies; taxes (beginning perhaps ten years in the future) would be voted for the purpose of redemption. Then subsequent assemblies would extend the period during which the paper money should be current, or would neglect to levy sufficient taxes for its withdrawal. Laws were often passed providing for the emission of new bills to replace worn or mutilated issues. Then the new paper would frequently be placed in circulation without withdrawing and cancelling the old; also bills that had been withdrawn for the original purpose of destruction would often be reissued to meet current expenses. There were even cases where a colonial treasurer, instead of destroying bills that were supposed to be cancelled, would appropriate them for the benefit of himself and his friends.

In the case of the loan bills, it frequently happened, that the money would not be repaid by the borrower at the due date and interest payments were commonly in arrears. Then the legislature would extend and re-extend the time for both interest and principal payment; much was never repaid.

The temper of many of the colonial legislators, reflecting the desires of their constituents, was to postpone and resist all forms of systematic taxation to pay even the normal expenses of government; instead they preferred to resort to the continued emission of unsecured printing-press money issued as a legal tender, so that the expenses

of government would fall solely on the creditor classes.

The result of all this was a terrific and continued depreciation of the paper. The depreciation opened new channels of villainy for legislators, who were also debtors, to pay off their debts in devalued paper, due to its legal tender attribute. Over-issue followed over-issue. In Rhode Island there were simultaneously in circulation old-tenor notes, middle-tenor notes, new-tenor-first notes and new-tenor-second notes, all in varying degrees of depriciation.

The continuing cry for more and yet more issues of paper money was loudest from the colonies which were most sparsely populated and had the least commerce, because in such areas the debtor class was sure to be in the majority. In fact this clamor for a cheap medium of exchange in the less-settled areas of our country (and among the less-productive elements of our population) is a pattern which may be followed throughout our entire currency history. These same people, through their legislators, also have been the least amenable to any organized system of taxation to pay off governmental obligations when due, other than by spiralling inflation of the currency.

MASSACHUSETTS CHECKS INFLATION

Conversely, the more commercial colony of Massachusetts eventually made a concerted effort to reduce the depreciation of its paper currenc and to resume specie payments. This was actually accomplished in 1749. The outstanding paper was redeemed at 7-1/2 shillings of paper for one shilling of specia, although the true depreciation had been about 11:1. This step would have been extremely difficult had it not been for a hard-money windfall. The British Parliament sent over a specie grant of 17,000 pounds sterling to recompense the colony for its expenditures during King George's War.* Dire predictions were

*This British shipment of coin included 10 long tons of copper half-pennies, valued at over 2000 pounds sterling. These half-pennies of 1749 were still often to be found in circulation in the U. S. in 1860, according to W. C. Prime writing in that year.

made by the opponents of resumption that the colony would be deprived of a circulating medium and ruin all branches of trade. Even Benjamin Franklin, generally so sound in his judgment, was in favor of copious issues of paper money. What actually happened, after resumption of specie payments in Massachusetts, was that, after a brief recession in business, specie became abundant and business prospered until the Revolution; the trade of neighboring Rhode Island languished due to continuation there of an unstable paper currency. Massachusetts became the envy of all the other plantations because of her rich commerce, and obtained the name of "the silver money colony."

BRITISH PARLIAMENT CHECKS COLONIAL INFLATION

The British Parliament, through the several colonial governors, exercised a strong restraining influence on the unlimited issue of the paper money. (Of course, the governors had a personal stake in limiting depreciation of the currency, since their salaries were paid at a fixed rate in local paper money.) However, by 1751 the paper-money abuses became so open and flagrant that Parliament enacted a law absolutely forbidding the New England colonies from issuing bills of credit and making them legal tender; this prohibition was extended to the other colonies in 1764 and required that outstanding bills of credit should be gradually retired.

To evade this extremely unpopular law, the colonial legislators issued "treasury notes" or "orders" or bills of still other names,

ceivable as legal tender only at the provincial treasuries. This lass of colonial paper money was issued extensively until tht time of the Revolution.

COLONISTS RESENT PARLIAMENT'S INTERFERENCE

The prohibition of colonial bills of credit was greatly resented by many of the colonists, although as viewed from today the British action was of the natureof crime prevention. Thomas Paine did not overstate his case when he wrote:

> "There are a set of men who go about making purchases upon credit, and buying estates they have not wherwithal to pay for; and having done this, their next ~~scwp~~ is to fill the newspapers with paragraphs of the scarcity of money and the necessity of a paper emission, then to have a legal tender under pretence of supporting its credit, and when out, to depreciate it as fast as they can, get a deal of it for a little price, and cheat their creditors; and this is the concise history of paper money schemes."

Political parties became reallighed as Debtors and Creditors, although the party names die not convey this information.

After the depreciation of the paper had gone to such lengths that it could no longer be denied, its advocates always advanced, with the greatest complacency, the suggestion that the fall in the value of bills of credit had operated as a gradual and insensible tax upon the community, so that no great harm had been done after all. To this optimistic view it was readily replied that such a tax was the most unjust and harmful method ever devised for meeting public expenditures. it taxed only those who were so situated that they could not avoid it, and benefitted sharpers, speculators, and dishonest debtors. It devoure the extates of wodows, orphans and the aged, paralyzed legitimate

business undertakings and wrought untold injury to public and private morals. Yet the advocates of a depreciating currency still insisted that bills of credit were a necessity, and that government should assume its proper duty of supplying money directly to the people. To such statements the reply was made that in all great countries the people, by their thrift and industry, provide not only their own subsistence but also support their government; it is absurd that a government should be expected to find money for its people.

The habit of paying taxes readily and regularly is not easily acquired, while it is lost with the utmost facility. The colonists, for three generations, were trained in a false school of public economy and had learned lessons that were soon to prove disastrous. It is not at all remarkable that, in the Continental Congress of 1775, members are reported to have entertained strong objections to burdining their constituents with taxes, when it was possible to send to a printer and obtain a wagon load of money, one quire of which would pay the entire sum needed to presecute the struggle for independence.

In opposing the attempts of Parliament to levy taxes upon them, the colonies were really contending no only against "taxation without representation," bur also against taxation in any form.

This state of mind was one of the major causes of the American Revolution, often overlooked by American historians. Ten years before the Declaration of Independence was signed, Benjamin Franklin during an examination before the House of Commons gave it as his considered opinion that "the prohibition of making paper money" was a major factor in the impatience and disrespect which the colonies were showing toware Parliamentary authority.

EXCESSIVE ISSUES OF PAPER MONEY BY CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

In the spring and early summer of 1775, revolutionary assemblies were convened in the various provinces to prepare for the public defe: With the restraining influence of the Royal Colonial governors remove it was practically certain that further paper-money issues would be demanded. The colonists' disinclination to pay taxes, which had been fostered by 80 years of false financial methods, inevitably asserted itself in a refusal to meet by heavy taxation the burdens incurred in a war that was caused in large measure by opposition to the taxing power of Parliament.

The Continental Congress has often been blamed for resorting to the disastrous expedient of over-issuing paper money. However, the financial policy of the Revolution was practically settled by the provincial assemblies whihh, without a single exception, decided to provide the sinews of war by means of "state" issues of bills of credit. The Continental Congress was really only a consultative body whose powers were severely limited by the wishes of the states. In order that it might continue to exist, the Continental Congress had to follow the wishes of the people, as clearly indicated in the state assemblies, with respect to the issuing of paper money. Hence, about six weeks after Congress first convened in Philadelphia on May 10, 17 it decided to issue $6,000,000 in Federal bills of credit to pay Federal expenses, and urged the states to redeem their quotas of these bills by imposing taxes. This the states refused to do, except for small sums, and continued to issue increasing amounts of their own paper money.

After unsuccessful attempts to raise revenue by a lottery and a domestic loan, larger Federal issues of paper money were requir

Loans and subsidies furnished by France brought considerable sums into the federal treasury; but more and more paper moneywas printed, the amounts of the individual issues increasing as depreciation progressed.

By the end of 1779, Congress had issued $241,500,000 in paper money which came to be known as "continentals;" by this time the states had issued about $200,000,000.

FAILURE OF PRINTING-PRESS MONEY AND PRICE CONTROLS

When these bills first began to depreciate, The Continental Congress asked the states to declare them a legal tender for payment of all debts. Price conventions were held and strenuous but unsuccessful efforts were made to regulate prices by law. The bills were used to pay for supplies required by the Continental Army, with no allowande for their depreciation. Speculators, rascals and sharpers reaped rich harvests. Philadelphia became the center of speculation and of the pursuit of private gain. Luxury, dissipation and shameful extravagance were conspicuous there.

Persons who refused to sell supplies and lands for the nearly worthless paper were branded as misers, traitors and enemies of liberty. Merchants were mobbed, fined and imprisoned. Such action drove many out of business and created real scarcities. Dishonest debtors were enabled to pay their debts in worthless currency. Creditors ran away from debtors. Debtors pursued them in triumph, carrying bags of worthless paper money and payed them without mercy. Creditors we known to have leaped from rear windows or hid in attics to excape payment with worthless paper.

Even George Washington, in the early years of the inflation, failed to understand the true cause for the rise in prices and bi

condemned the "monopolizers." However, by August of 1779, he saw what was happening at least to the extent of expressing his unwillingness to "receive no more old (personal) debts./. . at the present nominal value of money;" he thought the law "never was nor could have been intended to make a man take a shilling or six-pence in the pound for an honest debt."

Benjamin Franklin, that great exponent of thrift, took an unexpectedly complacent view of the situation as late as 1779 when he said:

> ". . . there is some advantage to the public in depreciation, as large nominal values are more easily paid in taxes, and the (federal) debt by that means more easily extinguished."

Printing-press money and price controls were as useless as many similar attempts to violate the natural laws of eceonomics have always proved to be. Prices continued to rise, and the inflation of the currency proceeded apace. The legal tender acts were not repealed until 1780 when the paper money was practically valueless.

For a long time the Continental Congress had refused to admit that depreciation had taken place. The Congress repeatedly pledged the public honor, its sacred honor and several other kinds of honor that the paper currency would be redeemed at its face value. As late as September, 1779, Congress declared:

"A bankrupt faithless republic would be a noverly in the political world, and appear among respectable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons."

However, only six months after this solemn declaration was sent to the various states, the same Congress adopted a plan for redeemi their paper money at one fortieth of its nominal value. They had,

the above forcible language, named their action in advance.

Early in 1781 a paper dollar was worth less than two cents in specie. The expression "Not worth a Continental" became common because the paper money was so valueless it was used to paper barbers' shops and suits of clothes were made out of it.

Since the states were still unwilling to levy the necessary taxes, Congress found it necessary to issue $4,000,000 in "new tenor" bills, which promptly depreciated. When the debt was finally funded in 1790, after the adoption of the Constitution, a small part of these bills was exchanged at one cent on the dollar for new public (government) stock issues of that year.

After the war, in 1785 and 1786, the debtor classes in seven states brought sufficient pressure to secure an additional spate of state paper money or bills of credit, which followed the well-known pattern of depreciation.

As a matter of fact, the lawmakers knew and expected that the paper would depreciate. Of the material on this subject which has survived to our day, perhaps the baldest and most shameless declaration admitting such guilty knowledge is the resolution which was adopted in the Hampshire County, Mass., convention in 1786:

> "Voted that this convention recommend to the several towns in this county that they instruct their representatives to use their influence in the next general court (state legislature) to have emitted a bank of paper money, <u>subject to a depreciation, making it a tender in all payments</u>, equal to silver and gold, to be issued in order to call in the Commonwealth's securities."

The low moral tone to which public thinking had come is obvious from this villainous proposal. A historian, writing in 1843, wrote

that "The morals of the people were corrupted beyond anything that could have been believed, prior to the event. All ties of honor, blood, gratitude, humanity, and justice were dissolved." Brothers defrauded brothers, children swindled parents and parents cheated children.

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION HAD LEARNED A LESSON

In retrospect, it must be admitted that the Revolution could not have been successful without paying army expenses and many other Federal expenses with partially unredeemable paper money. However, the excesses to which the depreciation reached were mainly the result of the peoples' unwillingness to be taxed. The Congressional resolution of 1780 calling for 40:1 redemption in specie has been justly described as "The first and great deliberate breach of public faith" and "an act of bankruptcy." Of the 1790 redemption at one cent on the dollar, it has been said that the Continental paper money "gently fell asleep in the hands of its last possessor." A truer statement would be that "it passed out of the world like a victim of delerium tremens."

But the experience of U. S. Government leaders with a chaotically depreciating paper currency finally taught a lesson which proved at least briefly effective, so far as the federal government was concerned. The leading statesmen of the country had become, almost without exception, stalwart opponents of a government paper currency. At the Constitutional Convention, the states were prohibited from resorting to bills of credit by an overwhelming vote. Then, by a nine to two vote, the convention struck out the Constitutional clause that had, in an early draft, conferred the power of issuing bills of credit on the National Congress. The Constitutional Convention delegates were "hard-money" men.

The Constituion was adopted by the states containing the pro-

hibition against both nationalandd state bills of credit, and has never been amended in this respect. The state prohibition has surv to the present. We shall later see how the national government fou a way for ~~thxxxfirst~~ issuing their first paper money to finance t Civil War without altering the Constitution. The emission of paper money by the federal government has continued to this day with Supreme Court approval. It is clear, however, from the records of the Constitutional Convention that the majority of speakers thou they were prohibiting both national and state bills of credit or legal-tender paper money.

The proposed prohibition of state and national bills of credit was violently assailed in 1788 by those opposed to the ratification of the national constitution by the states. It is interesting to note that a detailed study, by geographical areas, has shown that those areas most opposed to ratification of the Constitution were the very same areas where the hue and cry was loudest for the over-issue of state paper money two years earlier. Almost without exception, the sparsely settled districts elected representatives who voted to emit a depreciating paper currency and then, two years later, to oppose the adoption of the new constitution. adopt the new new constitution. This state of affairs was well known to the framers of the constitution.

The facts warrant the positive statement that the last act of the inflationists of the eighteenth century was to oppose most bitterl the only feasible plan for constructing a firm union of the thirteen feeble, selfish, jealous and quarrelsome states.

THE PAPER MONEY OF CHARTERED BANKS

The agitation for cheap currency did not die out in the various states. The constitutional prohibition of both state and federal bills of credit was a challenge to those who favored copious issues of paper money. In practice (up to Civil War days) the law meant that, while neither the state or federal governments could issue paper money, either level of government could and did charter private banks of issue. These banks issued promissory notes which generally proclaimed themselves to be redeemable on demand in specie although they could not, under the constitution, be legal tender. These promissory notes looked like the familiar bills of credit and circulated as such. It seems strange that the "hard-money" framers of the constitution die not foresee and attempt to prevent the grave paper-money abuses possible under private banks.

In 1782, several years before the constitution was adopted, the Bank of North America was chartered in Philadelphia and it proceeded to issue paper currency with a sincere attempt to maintain its redeemability. Two years later, similar banks were founded in Boston and New York. In 1791, the first Bank of the United States was given a federal charter in Philadelphia. The paper money of this bank was well secured and provided a uniform and convenient currency throughout the country. Before long, however, a veritable banking mania spread in all directions. The old abuses plus some new ones followed promptly. These abuses were most prevalent in the sparsely settled districts west of the Appalachian Mountains and in the Mississippi valley.

There were in the country only a few men who understood proper methods of banking and the responsibilities of banks. The common view was that a bank was a mysterious and magical means of creating wealth out of nothing. It was supposed that, since a banker could loan paper

money and secure interest on the loan, the banking business offered a unique and beautiful opportunity to secure interest on one's debts. Banks were often formed for the sole purpose of issuing their paper. The privilege of emitting such promissory notes, which were intended to circulate as currency, was claimed as a common-law right. The constitutional prohibition against government bills of credit was nullified by a deluge of bank paper. The people of the United States had embarked once more on the enterprise of substituting a cheaper medium (paper) for gold and silver. The old cry again echoed through the land that there was insufficient hard money to meet the needs of trade so that the printing presses must be started again to provide plenty of money for all.

In all parts of the country many of the earliest banks were conducted with extreme recklessness or utter dishonesty. In New England, the first crash came in 1809, and this was followed by the enactment of more stringent state laws regulating the business. In 1814, 1837 and 1857, there occurred general suspensions of specie payments by most of the banks in the United States. Periods of suspension in particular localities were even more common. Only the New England banks withstood the first of these crashes, and a still smaller number maintained the convertibility of their notes during the crises of 1837 and 1857. During some parts of its existence, the second Bank of the United States exercised a restraining influence on the issues of the state-chartered banks, since it could refuse to receive in payment of public dues the currency of any institution that did not maintain the convertibility of its notes. Indeed, it was in part a demand for a national bank that should regulate the disordered paper medium of the country that induced Congress to grant the charter in 1816. But this wholesome restraint was often denounced as oppression

and intimidation of the state-chartered banks, and it helped to produce in some localities a lasting hostility against the federal Bank.

At the present day, the abuses perpetrated by the state-chartered banks during the first half of the nineteenth century may appear almost incredible. The capital of many institutions was only partially paid in, and stockholders frequently prodeeded to borrow all that they had contributed. Loans were made upon mortgage security, while it seemed impossible for the disastrous results that commonly follow wuch a policy to teach the obvious lesson that an institution that attempts to support a large amount of demand liabilities must invest its funds only in quick assets. The promissory notes were issued in small denominations as one shilling, or even five cents, in the expectation that it would never be worth any one's while to collect such infinitesimal currency and present it for redemption. Banks were located in inaddessible places, on some bottomless prairie road or in the depths of forests, where it would prove as difficult as possible to find the "offices" at which the notes were payable. One notorious bank, which failed in 1809, was found to have $580,000 of notes in circulation and $86.46 in its specie reserve. When a Boston bank sent a batch of currency to New York for redemption, the collector of the port seized the notes upon the pretext of preventing a run on the New York banks. A messenger sent to a bank in a neighboring town to demand the payment of $10,000 in notes issued by the local bank, was arrested upon a frivolous charge in order to avoid such a request. Nothing was more common than a state of public opinion which condemned every attempt to obrain specie from the banks. To ask one of these institutions to fulfil the promise printed on the face of its bills was a disgraceful act which indicated a lack of public spirit, or was proof positive of a desire to start a "run on the bank." In Ohio,

Indiana and Missouri, between 1855 and 1859, certain persons who presented notes for redemption were threatened with lynching or a coat of tar and feathers.

Some states established public institutions that were no better than the loan banks of colonial days. These were designed to do a banking business "upon the faith and credit"of the states, and to supply the people with paper money. Thus, in 1820, the Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky was instituted. The legislature appropriated $7000 in order to purchase books, paper, and the plates for printing bills. Then $2,000,000 of paper was issued, and apportioned among the counties to be loaned out on mortgage security. This was practically an emission of state bills of credit, which had been prohibited by the Federal Constitution. But, in 1835, the Supreme Court, which had recently been "Jacksonized," found a way of arriving at the conclusion that the act creating the bank was constitutional. (Five of the seven Supreme Court judges were appointees of President Andrew Jackson.)

The consequence of the spread of this mania for unsound banking was that from 1800 to 1860 an inconvertible paper currency continued to vex the United States. Bank notes were often at a discount of fifty or sixty per cent, and the issues became so large as repeatedly to cause inflation. Then a period of liquidation would ensue, and prices would fall to extremely low levels. The favorite remedy was "more paper money." Men who had speculated on a rising market, and had been caught "long" when the reaction commenced, would cry out loudly for more currency in order that prices might be sustained until it should be possible to unload upon other people. Prodigalit and dishonesty always attended every era of inflation. When the fla.

prosperity thus created had collapsed, debtors began to clamor for legislative relief. The familiar "boom and bust" cycle was going on one hundred years ago and more.

The condition of the bank currency, however, was not equally bad in all sections of the country. As time wore on and the lessons of sad experience were learned, better methods of banking were developed in the older states. The New England banks led in this direction after the disaster of 1809. The city banks compelled those located in the country districts to maintain the convertibility of their notes, and wise legal restrictions gradually were perfected. By 1860, Massachusetts had developed one of the best banking systems in the world. Louisiana had passed a model banking law in 1842, under which her banks were, in 1860, the safest in the country in many respects. In other states individual banking institutions had become justly celebrated for the ability and honesty of their administration. But these distinguished exceptions merely serve to heighten the contrast presented by most of the banking institutions in the South and West. North of Louisiana and Arkansas, there was practically no convertible bank money in the Mississippi Valley. The notes of dead or doubtful banks were hawked about at from ten to ninety cents on the dollar. It has been estimated that in the entire state of Illinois in 1860 the specie held by all the banks amounted to only4.25 per cent of the paper circulation and deposits.

In this "broken bank bill" era, the condition of a bogus Ohio bank was all too typical. This institution had started in business by investing $165 in a plate, and paying one quarter of a cent on a dollar for having its notes printed. It had then established its credit firmly by giving $1900 to the publisher of a"bank note det

magazine who agreed to "quote the money right." Such bank note detectors were in universal use by all who would avoid loss from the receipt of bogus bank notes and the notes of bogus banks. W. H. Dillistin's "Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors 1826-1866", published in 1949 by The American Numismatic Society, New York, is ancomprehensive and authoritative review of these publications.

THE RETURN TO GOVERNMENT PAPER MONEY--THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

Soon after the opening of the Civil War, the government negotiated a loan of $150,000,000 from the banks in the leading Eastern cities. Congress wisely gave Secretary Chase permission to keep this money in solvent banks, and to draw upon these funds by check as fast as should be necessary. But the Secretary foolishly refused to follow such a course, and withdrew from the banks a large portion of their reserves; a general suspension of specie payments by the banks throughout the country followed almost immediately. The government, finding itself unable to sell its 6 per cent bonds at par, finally in desparation authorized the issue of $150,000,000 of notes. These notes were declared to be legal tender in all payments, except for customs duties and interest on the national debt. Other issues were authorized later, so that finally $450,000,000 or irredeemable paper was placed in circulation. In 1864, the limit of the permanent issues was placed at $400,000,000; the favorable turn of both military and financial operations enabled the government to adhere to this ceiling.

These paper-money issues constitute the first such emissions by the government of the United States. They were called "greenbacks" for their color or "legal tenders" to contrast them with the notes of state-chartered banks. During the Civil War, nearly all specie

as hoarded or exported, so that there was an extremely acute shortage of small change. There was even a sever shortage of one-cent pieces although they never entirely disappeared from circulation. To meet the urgent need for small change, various private institutions printed non-legal-tender "shinplasters." Postage stamps were later used as small change, resulting in many hardships for the postal employees who had to sell and redeem an unprecedented number of stamps. Congress then authorized the postal currency and still later fractional currency to relieve the situation. The privately-issued shinplasters were declared to be constitutional by the New York State Supreme Court, so that Congress found it expedient to prevent their further issue by a 10 per cent tax in 1863. The history of this small-change paper currency is a story in itself and will not be discussed further at this time.

The possible unconstitutionality of the Civil War greenbacks is of interest. In 1870, the Supreme Court held that the law of 1862, making greenbacks a legal tender, was unconstitutional. Shortly afterwards, the personnel of the Court having changed, the law was upheld as an exercise of the very indefinite "war powers" of the Constitution. In 1884, a law of 1878, directing the reissue of greenbacks, was declared constitutional even in times of peace.

As is well known, the greenbacks depreciated, and the country was again involved in all the evils of a fluctuating paper medium. The federal paper was injected into a currency that already contained more than $200,000,000 of state-chartered bank notes, which were no longer redeemable in specie. The highest price ever paid for one dollar in gold was $2.85 in greenbacks. The dishonest medium of exchange was productive of the most notorious extravagance and corruption, which

gave to the decade following the close of the war a character that was perhaps more unsavory than that of any epoch since the adoption of the Constitution. James Fisk and Jay Gould, the Credit Mobilier scandals and the Belmont impeachment trial were the natural products of this period of reckless inflation.

One beneficial result of the use of Federal greenbacks was that the currency system became uniform throughout the country. Even if the U. S. notes were depreciated, they were received at the same valuation throughout the country. The state-chartered bank notes were finally legislated out of existence without the necessity of a constitutional amendment by the simple expedient of the imposition of a Federal tax of 10 per cent on all such notes ~~of~~ issued. There was no further need of "bank note reporter" magazines.

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Aug 12 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Your August 8 letter requests approval of a change in my review of your "1804 Dollar Book" to the following:

"All but the most utterly irreconcilable will be firmly convinced by the authors' conclusions. The United States silver dollar dated 1804 still is the "King of American coins"; throughout history few kings acted less kingly because they were illegitimate or usurpers."

Fine! I approve.

Very truly yours,

Raymond H. Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson
ANA 9482

cc Ken Bressett

Aug 26 1962

Mr. Richard T. Hoober
236 Rices' Mill Road
Wyncote, Penna.

Dear Mr. Hoober:

The odd denominations of the Lynchburg city paper money of May 1, 1862, have so intrigued me that I'm running a centennial study on them, (hopefully) for publication. In addition to the expected small-note denominations of 10-25-50-75 cents, we find also odd-ball denominations of 15-30-60-90 cents. I had about given up hoping for any story closer than wild speculation when some good spadework uncovered an editorial in the Richmond Whig of Jan 23 1862 on "Coins and Weights" which states in part:

> A correspondent suggests a change in the denomination of our coins and in our weights and measures, as a means of removing us further from the Yankees. . . If we were to adopt a decimal principle in weights and measures, and revert to the old English pounds, shillings and pence, in coinage, we might go far to bother the Yankees and conciliate the good will of the English people. . . But whether or not it be deemed expedient to return to our original colonial coin, it would be very gratifying to us to see the Yankee dollar disappear altogether and forever from our vocabulary.

The long letter from an unnamed "correspondent" appears in the same issue of the Richmond Whig. The editorial takes on added significance when we note in the mss Journal of the Congress of the CSA 1861-5, Vol I, p 492: "Mr. John Tyler (ex-pres of USA) offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Commerce to inquire into the expediency of providing a new system of weights and measures, and of coin; which was read and agreed to." The report of this committee was tabled Jan 23 but referred to the Special Committee on Commercial & Financial Independence the next day; they in turn secured the passage of a resolution to appoint certain experts "to draw up a system of weights and measures and coins, to be presented to the Confederate Congress for its consideration"; these experts included Captain Matthew F. Maury of the CSA Navy, former first Director of the USA Naval Observatory. There is no record of the report of these experts.

Still further significance is achieved by noting the denominations of the small notes of the Revolutionary Virginia Colonial Series: 15-30-60-90 pence.
A further coincidence is that many denominations of the Virginia Colonial paper money authorized by the Virginia Convention of July 17, 1775 were signed by Wm. Norvell; in 1862 at Lynchburg the Chairman of the city's Finance Committee which planned the city notes was Lorenzo Norvell and the City Treasurer whose office issued the small notes was William Wiatt Norvell. Although the two Lynchburg Norvells were first cousins, apparently they were not related to the signer of the Revolutionary paper money. Too bad to spoil a good story! They may have had a common ancestor.

The 15d Virginia note of July 17, 1775, is plainly labelled PISTEREEN, or one-fifth of a Spanish "dollar." So the 15-30-60-90 pence series corresponds to 1-2-4-6 PISTEREENS. Thomas Jefferson's "Notes on Coinage" prepared about April 1784 for the Continental Congress proposed that the USA money unit be equivalent to the Spanish "dollar" and that the silver coin equal to one-fifth of a USA dollar be called the PISTEREEN.

I'd centainly appreciate receiving your advice and help on some items connected with the above:

1) Your article on the "Financial History of Colonial Virginia" at p 1274 of the December 1953 Numismatist identifies the signers of the Virginia notes dated July 17, 1775, as:

1s/3d John Pendleton, Jr.
2s/6d Henry King
5s/- and up: (Philip) Johnson
Benjamin Tazewell
Josiah Parker
Joseph Lyne

Actual and photographed Virginia notes of this series show signatures:

1s/3d Edm. Randolph
20s/- Wm. Norvell & (?)
W. A? Norton & John Dixon
£2 Phil. Johnson & Wm Norvell
£3 Phil. Johnson & Wm.Norvell (3 specimens)

Even the £3 specimen pictured in your article is signed by Johnson & Norvell. What are your ideas on this discrepancy? Where can one find source material on such a subject? I've tried the Virginia State Library unsuccessfully.

2) Please share with me the names of signers on any actual or photographed notes of this series, under 20 shillings.

3) Do you know if the Wm Norvell who signed so many of the notes of this series (also Va. Sept 1 1775) was:
William Norvell (1726-1802) of James City County, Va. or
William Norvell (d 1808) of Hanover County, Va.
Presumably the signer was from James City County, since the latter (J.C. County) married Rebecca daughter of Col. Philip Johnson who was co-signer of notes with Wm. Norvell; also, the James City County man was a member of the Third Virginia Convention of 17 July 1775 which authorized the notes.

? → 4) Do you think the circumstantial evidence re the 15-30-60-90 cents of 1862 being copied after a similarly denominated pence series of 1775 is so far-fetched as to be incredible, or are you partly convinced?

I'd so very much appreciate hearing from you quite soon, as my time for publication is "running out." Many thanks! Very truly yours,

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Aug 26 1962

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Ave.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

There are several of your letters at hand which have been answered inadequately or not at all. Let's fix it!

If Whitman & Co. made their deadline, your 1804 Dollar book is on its way two days. I'm looking for a copy with keenest anticipation -- not referring to an "Annie Oakley" either!

If you are interested in Boulton, I have bushels of information -- and there remain more bushels of blind spots. Please let me know your localized areas of interest, and I'll try to oblige with info.

My "Letter to the Editor" of Coin World(re errors in 3-16-62 issue p79) was printed on p4 of the 5-4-62 issue. I'm sorry I took off even mildly after Johnson's picture (with coin books) on each editorial page, in view of what happened to him a little later.

One of your namesakes(?) has an interesting variant for spelling the name. I jotted down a note on it and forgot where it came from but it was an item -- possibly in an ANA club report -- re the James River Bank (Va.) notes of 1775; the bank never opened but the notes survived. The report was made by FRED C. PNEUMAN, ANA 27590, of Manhattan, Kansas. Aint that somethin'?

I'm a little surprised you took off after Breen so strongly, as I had read it avidly, enjoyed it immensely, and discovered the items which excited you only upon re-reading. (Of course, I'm talking about his article in the August NSM "The Hundred Year Vendetta.") About nine years ago, I corresponded with Breen extensively; I've given it up because I simply can't keep up with him; we dug around in many of the subjects of his "Vendetta" article, and as far as I know his statements are true. (Of course he has a different Eckfeldt peddling restrikes; I always thought it was David Bausch Eckfeldt until you came along with a different version. How sure are you that Breen isn't right?) Breen is an extremely odd duck -- I have ample reason to know -- but he is a 24-carat genius too. I never won any factual arguments with him; he was always right and I had to admit it. I started corresponding with him about 1949 at the request of Stuart Mosher when Breen was behind bars in Framingham (Mass.) Vet Hospital. He took up numismatics for rehabilitation. The M.D. who OK'ed his being drafted in the Army should be disbarred from practicing medicine. Dr. Sheldon of the Copper Cent fame took a great interest in his rehabilitation. His story at Johns Hopkins is fantastic. He entered by examination, because they could find no record he had graduated from high school. He entered in September, took a schedule which required about 17 hours' work every day, passed off many courses by examination, was awarded a Phi Beta Kappa key the following spring

and graduated with a BA degree in something or other Summa Cum Laude the following June; that is nine months after he entered. He worked for ANS at one time, and made a subject index of their auction catalogs. They would not re-employ him if he were the last man on earth as I understand it, but I've seen him in the museum since his employment, so I guess he is a member yet. When we meet, if we ever do!, I'll be glad to yarn at any given length about him. I understand he is a whole-hog "beatnik" now; and even more slovenly in his appearance than of yore. I certainly do not condone these things -- nor the degree of acidity of his comments in the "Vendetta" article, but I've got to respect his photographic memory, his broad knowledge of numismatics, and the depth of his information on subjects in which I'm often interested. Enough for that.

I'm enclosing a letter (tissue) of today's date to Richard T. Hoober, who wrote a long-winded and wandering article without citation of references to source material on the "Financial History of Colonial Virginia" ~~xxxxxx~~ in the Nov & Dec 1953 Numismatists. I'd very much like your information or opinion re the four questions at the end, particularly No. 4. Also, do you have specimens of the Virginia paper money of the 17 July 1775 series, denominations 2/6, 5/-, 7/6, 10/-, and 12/6 AVAILABLE FOR PHOTOGRAPHY? I'm particularly anxious to secure the 7/6 and below; I have the 1/3 photograph. If you do have any or all of these, would it be too much trouble to see a local photographer and get them photographed exactly full-size on a single negative; contrasty film should be used, capable of recording the serial numbers which are probably red. (You probably know a lot more about this than I do, but anyhow that's what I think I need!) And please mail me the bill. I need neg + 2 glossy prints.

I've dug up a lot of material re the Lynchburg city paper money of 1862 which seems interesting to me and am wondering where I'd best try to get it published. I'm on the program for both the local Kiwanis Club and Lions Club (where I'm a member) to give the story here this fall; also the local paper wants a summary. But what I'd like to do is get it published with a bunch of family history re the signer, the planner and the issuer, in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (Quarterly), and then a shorter version in The Numismatist. Does that sound reasonable to you?

In this field, the only book I have is Scott's Standard Paper Money Catalog, 4th & last Ed., 1894. It is very good, but I believe that it is all duplicated -- and more -- in the Wayte Raymond paper money book, of which I've never been able to secure a copy. If you ever see one at ten bucks or less, please grab it for me! Do you know any knowledgeable collectors in the Southern city-money field, during the days of the "War Between the States?"

Please keep on letting me know when you come East -- may yet get together with you in New York or Washington. How are things getting along at ANS? Did you know their very first summer-seminar man ~~was~~ is a Lynchburg resident? Fordyce Mitchell, who is a prof at Randolph Macon Woman's College. I'm assuming you will accept additional time as a member of the ANS Council if the opportunity is presented after this year. Any angles I should know about, in case "electioneering" is necessary?

Guess that's enuf for tonight. Very best regards. Come see us in Lynchburg.

Very truly yours,

Ray W Mason

August 28, 1962

Mr.Raymond Williamson
930 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Glad to help with respect to your letter of August 26.

There are three series of paper money of the July 17, 1775 authorization. One group is undated but is an engraved issue - 20 sh. £2, £3, £5, the engraved forms being sent over from England. Another issue is dated September 1, 1775 on James River Bank paper, of which I have 20 sh. £5, £8, £10, £12 in my collection.

On the printed issue I have a 2 sh. 6 signed by Henry King, a 5 sh. signed by William A.Norton and John Dixon, a 10 sh. signed by William A. Norton and John Dixon with signatures almost unreadable. I may have another at home and will look for it.

In order to save time I wanted to tell you that there are two people in Virginia who know a lot about Virginia Civil War currency and Colonial currency. The first one is Charles J. Affleck, 34 Peyton Street, Winchester, Virginia, and the second is Howard Spain, Waverly, Virginia. Afflect is the best source.

Edmund Randolph, who signed the 1 sh. 3 p. notes of the issue in question was first Attorney General of the United States, Second Secretary of State, and Governor of Virginia, among other things.

If you want a book which has endless material on this period in Virginia history there is John Norton & Son or John Norton & Company of London and Virginia. It was put out by Colonial Williamsburg.

August 28, 1962

Mr. Raymond Williamson

My own monograph on Virginia coinage has a section on paper money at the end and I have a lot more references at home for you. The only reason I am writing you before I go home is that this may help you get started with the two named persons.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

August 28, 1962

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

God has saved me. A few days before the release of our book, the 1804 Dollar presented to the King of Siam is announced. I stopped the release of the book and insisted on a complete rewrite which has now been finished. The presses actually broke down and that is why the book was not printed. The presses knew more about numismatics than I did. The type is being reset this week and the book will be out in about one month.

I have added to the 23rd psalm a few words which will tickle you. The last sentence now reads: "The King of American Coins is an imposter, but was made for a King."

I am more than delighted that the new discovery took place before the release of the book rather than after.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

August 29, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Ray:

There is an article entitled "Paper Money Issued For Virginia" under the ordinance of the convention of July 17, 1775 by R. W. Church, published in the Numismatic Scrapbook for September, 1942. I will furnish a photocopy if you need it.

There is an article on Virginia Colonial Money in the Virginia Law Journal, Vol.1, pp. 447,61.

Another person who has done research on Virginia Colonials is James Parrish, 322 King Street, Portsmouth, Virginia. He has all denominations of the issue you are interested in.

The name of the Virginia Treasurer is John H.Norton, and not John A. Norton. He signed the 5 sh.,7 sh.6 p., 10 sh., 12 sh. 6 p., and 20 sh. of the printed issue of July 17, 1775. I am having photographed for you a 2 sh. 6 p.,and a 5 sh. on the above issue.

Please add to the list of James River notes of July 17, 1775 a 4f denomination.

I have a sheet of Lynchburg notes dated May 1, 1862 containing 10¢, 15¢, 25¢, 30¢, 50¢, 60¢; the 75¢ and 90¢ in my collection are singles.

I have the Lynchburg Savings Bank 10¢, 20¢, 25¢, 50¢, 75¢, $1, $1.50.

I have the Merchants Bank Lynchburg $1, $2, counterfeit $5, and $10.

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson

I probably have more Lynchburg banks or scrip but need to know their names to find them. You are welcome to borrow any or all.

My answer to your question No. 4 is categorically "No". The denominations in 1775 were based on the Virginia exchange of 5 shillings to the Spanish dollar and were set up to conform to Spanish coins. The Civil War series ties in with postage rates and has many intermediate denominations.

Further affiant saith not at this time.

Sincerely,

ERIC P.NEWMAN

EPN/atb

August 31, 1962

Mr. Raymond H. Williamson
933 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

We are glad to cooperate with you by enclosing herewith two prints of the Virginia issue of 17 July 1775 denominations 5 schillings and 2 1/2 schillings. The negative is in our possession.

It is a pleasure for this organization to take care of this matter for you.

Kindest regards.

Very truly yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/cal

Enclosures

RAYMOND H. WILLIAMSON
933 ROTHOWOOD RD.
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

Sept 3 1962

Rec'd 9/11/62

Mr. Eric P. Newman
Edison Brothers Stores Inc.
400 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dear Eric:

Never a dull moment!

Before I forget it again -- Your article in ANS Museum Notes - X (1962) on "Additions to Coinage for Colonial Virginia" reminds me, altho too late -- I want to share an item with you which appeared in a little paper-covered 12-page magazine which looks like a real old Numismatist: The Keystone Stamp and Coin Gazette, Edwin C. Mann, Edward E. Kendiz, Editors and Publishers, Altoona, Pa.; Vol II No. 13, p 116, July 1885. The item in question is the sixth of several entitled "Numismatic Items", without by-line.

"A Story has come to us about the uncirculated Virginia halfpennies which we do not remember to have seen in print, nor do we believe it to have been otherwise imparted to the numismatic fraternity, and we are inclined to view it as a matter of fact. It is in substance as follows: At the close of the revolutionary war, the father of the late Col. M. J. (sic) Cohen (whose extensive cabinet of coins was sold in 1875) embarked in trade in Richmond, Va., with his brother,* both of whom served in the war. The pieces in question were sent to them from England to be used for change when small denominations were scarce and in demand. The quantity supplied is not known, but the number of uncirculated ones which was found by Col. Cohen in a bag at Richmond, is stated to have been less than a thousand; hence the low price for an early, interesting and perfect colonial coin. It is highly probable that the halfpenny found a circulation in Virginia at a period closely following its date (1773), but it is this particular late supply, which left such a generous portion unused to adorn the cabinets of collectors."

They served on war of 1812

The quantity mentioned is interesting; the "late supply" sounds incredible (dies at Royal Mint) but I suppose nothing is absolutely impossible. Probably the above text was intended to have read: ". . . to have been not less than a thousand;. .."

*Jacob Cohen? He was no officer. See House of Rep. Committee Report #371, 3-8-1842, 27th Congress, 2nd Session. His claim for a Revolutionary pension was rejected. He was a Virginian, apparently from Richmond. You have your Jacob I. Cohen d 1823.

Jacob I Cohen Jr died 1869

By the way, in Syracuse there is a secretive old antique dealer who is a coindealer's coindealer -- that is, he seemed to have a bottomless pit full of good material, knew its value, and none of us knew where he got it. I always thot of him as a poorly dressed (he was loaded) unsavory character, altho he may have had some good qualities. Anyhow he must have had over a hundred

uncirculated Va halfpennies of 1773, and he used to bring them for sale at coin club and ESNA meetings, two or three at a time. This man is Arthur Gottschalk, 207 State Street, Syracuse. He was an occasional (and not very welcome) visitor to coin club meetings in the 1940's;altho he never paid dues, I was surprised to read in The Numismatist that he joined the club at its second meeting on July 12, 1932. He used to show up at ESNA meetings and dickered with attendees et al on a vest-pocket basis without paying either registration or bourse fee; quite successful, too, because he had superb material. He and that most-respected of dealers, Barney Bluestone, fought (literally on occasion) 90% of the time, and then occasionally surprised everyone by joining forces for some deal. Back in the depression years, Barney is reputed to have returned from a buying trip to Massachusetts with a large trunk full of choice colonial and early American copper coins. He had two large safes which bulged for years with choice copper material from some source, and his auctions were loaded with beautiful copper. John P. Young of Ithaca told me he attributed much of Bluestone's late-date copper cents, and I sweet-talked him into giving his easy-finding variety charts to ANS. (Barney could ~~could~~ attribute several hundred early-date varieties to pre-Sheldon books by memory.) Anyhow, I always thought Gottschalk and Bluestone must have split the loot from this trunk full of copper coins, because Bluestone didn't have enough capital to acquire it on his own. Gottschalk was selling unc red Va Halfpennies at $12 five years ago. Gottschalk never advertises, but apparently is known by old line dealers all over as a source where one can get an item for a client in a hurry, at a price. I see he has finally joined the ANA (36235). He could tell quite a story about where the Virginia halfpennies have been, I expect, but I doubt one could ever get it out of him as he is very secretive. Wonder if any of Gottschalk's choice copper had migrated into the hands of Syracuse's newer dealer , Jonah Shapiro, and been a part of the 135 pieces of colonial coins valued at $1950 reported as stolen from him at Providence R.I. in Coin World 11-10-61.

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Thanks for sending me a copy of your Aug 28 letter to John J. Carey of Glassboro NJ re the "Dudley piece." So often these things turn out to be disappointments, but this one is so very different in that he seems to have studied the matter a bit. Could he have a silvered electro, look those in ANS museum? (I suppose they are silvered electros -- they can't be real; I presented a paper at an ANS meeting on 11-15-52 "Early American Coinage -- Several Questions and a Few Answers" and used slides of the bit (from Standard Cat. photo), the quint and the mark; these slides were made by ANS from their specimens -- except the bit -- and Mosser's 10-24-52 letter offered to have the "actual coins" on display; maybe he didn't know they were not originals.) Please keep me up to date on what develops. I have some unpublished material on Dudley, but not at all comprehensive. Just a rubbish heap at present.

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It is indeed surprising how many numismatic "myths" turn out to be good history. Of course, the batting average is very low, but it is not zero. Someone surely had you by the hand when the printing presses broke down in time to save all concerned the embarrassment of a wrong position on the 1804 Dollar for the King of Siam.

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Now for the Lynchburg and Virginia paper money story. If the denominations of Lynchburg 1862 paper money had (as you insist) no connection with 1775 denominations of Virginia paper money, there is no need to get photos of the Colonial money at this time.

But your SHEET OF SIX LYNCHBURG NOTES is a real treasure. Please send a nice contrasty ~~xxxxxxx~~ photo of it -- and the bill. If the 75 and 90 cent specimens are related by serial numbers, please include them in the print also. Need the negative and two prints -- or at least the negative. A sheet of Lynchburg notes is unheard of here, altho there is a lady who has a sheet of Amherst notes but won't sell. I had thought earlier that the Lynchburg notes must have been printed eight denominations to a sheet, but changed my mind when the shear-cut at the bottom of 30¢ note Ser 10843 fit (or seemed to fit) perfectly the top shear-cut of 30¢ note Ser. 10844. These two notes were framed together with others at the local Library.

Not true

I'm very anxious to learn the arrangement of the notes on the sheet. Do you think the original sheet contained all eight denominations? Any evidence? I'm also anxious to ~~xxxxxxx~~ learn the sequence of serial numbers on the sheet -- presumably all the same. I have a sample of highest serial no. seen 20,513 on a 90¢ note, as a clue to the number struck, known to be $72,418.60 in total but am without surviving record as to how many of each denomination. They were issued between May 8, 1862 and Oct 8, 1862. They are all dated May 1, 1862. They are all signed by David Edley Spence (I have his long-bearded photo) who was authorized to sign and serial at $1 per thousand notes by resolution of City Corporation Council May 9, 1862. However he was paid $649.41 on Oct 28 1862 ; this doesn't come out right, unless he was given the benefit of a scale of depreciation of CSA paper against gold, which I doubt. Serial numbers of all denominations seem pretty well spread over the various thousands up to 20,000.

I doubt

Please send me serial no's by denomination of all notes (Lynchburg) you have, as a means of estimating rarity. Out of 100 notes examined, four were 10¢, 5 were 15¢, 8 were 30¢, 8 were 75¢ up to 30 were 25¢; I'd like to secure a broader base; I'm quite sure the 10 & 15 are really rare.

Thanks for the word re NSM Sept 1942 article by R. W. Church (Who is he?) with which I'm familiar; also your ANS "Coinage for Colonial Va." Chapter on paper money. See also The Numismatist "Financial History of Colonial Virginia" by Richard T. Hoober, Dec 1953. I've not seen the article in Vol. 1 of Va Law Jnl, and plan to look it up; also have not seen "John Norton & Sons -- Merchants of London and Virginia"; (1937) and have intended for some time to acquire this one. Also there are other references worth checking in your "Coinage for Colonial Va."

15
30
60
7½d = #1.20

I wrote a nice, friendly letter to Affleck 4-9-61 and he hasn't answered yet; wrote him again Aug 26 1962 -- no reply. I'll try Howard Spain as you suggest.

My present interest in Colonial Va currency is only to the extent necessary to chase a possible reason for the odd denominations which are multiples of 15¢ in the 1862 issues; the opportunity for familiarity with Colonial denominations by Lynchburg (and other Va.) issuers could be via relationship of William Norvell, 1862 issuer, to William Norvell, 1775 signer. Unfortunately, for my story:

1) The two Norvells are apparently unrelated, altho they may have had a common ancestor, way back.
2) Eric Newman gives a "categorical 'NO'" to my theory, and says:
   A) "The denominations in 1775 were based on the Va exchange of 5 shillings to the Spanish dollar."
   B) "(The denominations) were set up to conform to Spanish coins."
   C) "The Civil War series ties in with postage rates and has many intermediate denominations."

6sh
1sh3
2sh6
5sh
10sh
1sh6d
2ash

Now I listen to an Eric Newman "NO!" with great respect. But this time I'm going to ask for Chapter-and-Verse sources before I'm willing to go to press with these statements. I'll probably end up agreeing with A, B, and C above, but right now I, too, am "from Missouri," on these items.

Yes)

A) Virginia exchange was at the rate of 6 shillings (72d) to the Spanish dollar, on a "money-of-account" basis, after 1728. See *att. Thermofax of p 116 and Tables XVI and XVII from the 1956 Research Report from Colonial Williamsburg: "The Economic Role of Williamsburg" by James Harold Soltow. Note that 6s per $ for "par" ~~axx~~ gives an exchange rate of 25, while 5s per $ gives a "par" of exchange rate of(1 - 54/60)•100 = 10, according to the screwy way they then used to figure such things; while the actual rate of exchange fluctuated depending on many factors such as war or peace, or over-issues of paper money after 1755, par"stayed put"for book-keeping at 6s per $ or "25"; at no time between 1740 and 1775 did the actual rate of exchange with Sterling go below 20 (See Table XVI). I know the paper money denominations look like they were made to fit Spanish coins at 5s per $; I suppose they probably are in some nutsed-up way because (for - say - the issue authorized July 17 1775) the Spanish money equivalents would be ~~logically~~ the logical values of (20s & below) $4.00, $2.50, $1.00, 0.50, and 0.25 instead of the way I'm insisting on giving illogical values of (20s & below) $3-1/3,$1-1/12, $1-2/3, $1-1/4, $5/6, $5/12, $5/24. But notice that in the issue Authorized July 14 1780, the dollar denominations printed on the bills are 3-1/3, 6-2/3, 10, 13-1/3 etc. To further confuse the issue, the 15d note auth July 17 1775 has the words PISTEREEN printed on it in four places in good large letters. The Spanish pistareen was legally one-fifth of a Spanish piece-of-eight, or a "20-cent piece"; (See Eckfeldt & DuBois, 1842); I know it was typically worn and way under legal fineness, and that T. Jefferson called a Spanish Bit a half-pistereen repeatedly (Boyd's TJ Papers, VI, 178, 179; he proposed that his fifth of a dollar US be called "pistereen" p 181). A pistareen at$0.20 = 15d gives 6s/3d per $, while a pistereen at $0.25 "15d gives 5s/-

Colonial pistareen

* The d- Things glued so I can't copy it. Will type out extracts later.

per $. Do you hold that the pistareen is $0.25? Just for the record, here are the dates the Spanish dollar was rated in Virginia shillings:

1645	6s/-	Bullock, Monetary Hist of U.S.	p18
1655	5s/-	"	p18
1680	6s/-	Hoober Nov 1953 Numismatist	p 1145
1683	6s/-	Bullock, Monetary Hist of U. S.	p19
few yr later	5s/-	"	p 19
1701	5s/-	Crosby	p 140 Be SURE to read unless already familiar.
1727	6s/-	Soltow, Williamsburg	p78 & Table XII, from Channing, Hist of US, Vol II, 498-499.
1728	6s/-	Soltow, Williamsburg	p 116

If you ask an elderly person here in Virginia how many shillings in a dollar, he will answer "SIX", quick as a wink; I've tried it. One old boy, who seemed to have a good memory, said he remembered time and again being sent to the store for "9-penny worth of sugar"; that is, $1/8 worth, or one bit's worth.

Queen Anne's proclamation of 1704 valued the Spanish "dollar" at 4s/6d or 54d, thus making the pound sterling of 20 shillings equal to $4.44 4/9, a "technical par" used during the Revolution and far into the 19th Century in the US.

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B) Re the denominations corresponding to Spanish coins, see A) above. The people who picked the denominations of the paper money in 1755 and kept on picking them the same way thru July 1776 actually may not have known that their ~~state~~ colonial law had changed the valuation of the Spanish dollar from 5s to 6s back in 1727 or 1728.

C) Re tying in with postal rates, the biggest stamp book I can find in Lynchburg shows no CSA or city stamp hereabouts larger than 10¢ in 1862. I am of course aware that USA stamps at this period were 1-2-3-5-10-12-24-30-90 cents and that the postal currency followed these denominations to a minor degree. The Lynchburg plan for city paper money at the Oct 25 1861 City Council meeting (not carried out) specified denominations of 25-50¢ and $1.00-2.50; this was a logical arrangement in view of $5 being the smallest note supposed to have been issued ~~elsewhere~~ by CSA banks etc. Something changed their minds in the interim. The CSA Senate passed a bill Sept 26 1862 providing for copper coins (never issued) of 1-5-10-25¢. All these other denominations follow an explainable pattern, but the multiples of 15¢ are very odd indeed. Among several items on postage problems related to the Lynchburg money and discarded is the following:

Lynchburg Virginian Mar 17 1862. "POSTAGE. Many persons are not aware that the government has made provision for the payment of newspaper & letter postage upon the deposit system. It is known that treasury notes will be received in payment of stamps, which serve all the purposes of prepaid letter postage, but, unfortunately, are not ~~received by~~

received by Postmasters in payment of unpaid letters for delivery, or on account of newspaper postage. To obviate therefore, the necessity of paying these last in specie, the people have but to avail themselves of a provision of Congress which authorizes them to deposit a Confederate note with the Postmaster, who is required to keep an account with them. The following is the law upon the subject, and we recommend it, in these times of scarcity of specie, to our readers:

"Section 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the provisions of 'An act to require the receipt by the Postmasters of the Confederate States, of Treasury notes, in sums of five dollars and upwards, in payment of postage stamp s and stamped envelopes,' approved August 13, 1861, be, and the same are hereby so extended as to require the Postmasters of the CSA ~~inxpayxxxxxx~~ to receive the Treasury notes of the CSA in payment of postage, in sums equal to the denomination of said Treasury notes, and to receive the same on deposit for advance payment of such postage."

What makes you think the paper money fitted the postage stamp values, letter rates, stamped envelopes, or whatever?

I must wind this up and get it in the mail, as it is nearly Monday morning! Thanks a million for the photos of the 2s/6d and 5s/- Virginia notes auth July 17 1775. If I must believe you that there is no connection between the 1775 and 1862 denominations, I don't need the photos, but I'm mighty proud to have them anyhow. Please let me pay for them. Would $5 be a good figure?

Thanks ever so much for your help. Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

September 12, 1962

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

Nothing would I more enjoyably do, than duel numismatics with you.

Thank you for the Virginia copper quotation which is non-factual to some extent. I believe I have explained the Cohen acquisition of the coppers as accurately as I could in the "Additions", a copy of which is enclosed. Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. died in 1869 and he was probably claiming a pension on account of his uncle's, or father's, service in the Revolution. Col. Mendes I. Cohen and his brothers served in the War of 1812.

As to Lynchburg notes, I enclose my sheet of six notes. I think the right edge shows a second impression from the same typeset plate was placed on the sheet. It is so far off register that it must be the same denominations and not a larger plate. The 75¢ and 90¢ have thin borders and are a separate printing. I enclose two 90¢ notes which have differences. The "g" in Lynchburg is from a different type font in each. The comma under "R" in "CITY OF LYNCHBURG" varies in being under the left or the center. Maybe if you compare enough 75¢ and 90¢ notes you can find a reconstruction to learn how many varieties of those high notes exist. Please return the notes after you have photographed them and studied them to your heart's content.

I talked off the top of my head about the Virginia denominations in 1775. I have studied my lesson now and am more enlightened. The "Current Money of Virginia" in the July 17, 1775 paper issue is desig-

nated on the bills as 5 shillings to the crown (2 £ equals 8 crowns),(2 sh. 6d equals one-half crown). The pistareen on the 1 sh 3d note is actually a 2 real piece. It was not 1/5th of a piece of eight. The coin was only worth 20¢ because it was of debased silver and was not acceptable at 2 reals. Now these coin terms are money of account in current money of Virginia in 1775 and not Spanish or English exchange ratios. This state of confusion makes me glad I didn't live then.

The issue of Virginia paper money of May 6, 1776 has both money of account denominations and Spanish milled dollar denominations, to-wit, 1 sh. 3d, 1 sh.6d, 5 sh., 7 sh. 6d, 10 sh., 12 sh. 6d, 20 sh. 2£, 3£ and 4£ and $1/6, $1/3, $4, $5. This seems to conform to actual exchange equivalents, $1/6=1sh., $1/3=2 sh., $4=24 sh., $5=30 sh. and all of the Spanish dollar denominations fit in with the others to fill out missing denominations and are payable in gold or silver.

Therefore, I now feel that the 1 sh. 3d of 1775, although nominally called a pistareen (2 real) was worth in exchange 15/96ths of a Spanish dollar, the 2 sh. 6d worth 30/96ths, the 5 sh. worth 60/96ths, the 7 sh. 6d worth 90/96ths. The 96 parts was so close to 100 that it was rounded off and thus the denomination in cents equal to old Current Money of Virginia denominations or Virginia Moneyof Account seems to have been in parlance beyond 1857 when Spanish money was put out of circulation legally. The denominations of 15, 30, 60, 90 cents on Lynchburg notes are the hangover and the 10, 25, 50, 75 are the modern (1862) additions. I presume I congratulate you on figuring this out. You have logic on your side all the way. There is no other way these crazy denominations could exist.

The denominations used on the Lynchburg notes seem to be common throughout Virginia. In my collection I find 15¢ notes of the corporations of Portsmouth, Winchester, Petersburg, and Charleston. I also find

September 12, 1962

15¢ notes of the counties of Notaway, Goochland, Lunenberg, Augusta and Craig. I find a 30¢ and 60¢ note of the City of Richmond, a 60¢ and 90¢ note of Roanoke County. I believe if you find a list of the denominations of city and county issues you will have further support to your theory. These denominations do not exist in other than Virginia. They do not exist in New England, where the lawful money was six shillings to the Spanish dollar.

Don't think my agreement with you is just so you can use the pictures I sent you. The pictures are the only thing I did right and they are strictly on me. I think the subject will make a tremendously interesting article.

Now as to the $3-1/3 and other denominations of July 14, 1780. In Virginia currency these notes contain on their face that they are issued on a 40 for 1 basis even though in July, 1780, both the Continental money and the Virginia currency were inflated at a ratio of 65 for one (Webster's Essays, page 501, Phillip's Continental Currency Appendix). Thus, the $3-1/3 is worth 8.3¢ or 1/12th of a dollar or 6d Virginia. The other denominations of this issue are listed and worked out on the attached memorandum.

I also enclose a memorandum of the serial numbers of my Lynchburg notes.

I want to thank you for an exciting evening of research, based on your needling me. I hope I have been of help.

Sincerely,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

December 17, 1962

Mr.Raymond H. Williamson
930 Rothowood Rd.
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ray:

It was very nice for you to call me up to continue my political career with A.N.S. I hope I haven't let you down.

I find that on November 28, 1962 I wrote Whitman Publishing Company and asked them why your review had not been published. I think that letter will produce action.

I am enclosing for your boredom an article which I am submitting to the Numismatist for publication in February. Read it and see if I am a dreamer.

I am enclosing a photocopy of the horrible blurbs which went with the Massachusetts and New Hampshire fakes recently along with a Williamson-like correction. You will notice the effort to make these fakes collectors items.

Thank you, again, for your many considerations which you have recently shown me and if there is any way I can help you on any of your projects please favor me by the opportunity of being of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC P. NEWMAN

EPN/atb

SOURCE BOOK OF AMERICAN NUMISMATICS

ITEM	DOCUMENT DATE
1	11 Sept. 1781

FROM Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance
PLACE Office of Finance, Philadelphia

TO Benjamin Dudley
PLACE Boston

If you should not have left Boston before this reaches you I shall be glad that you will come with Tench Francis Esqr. who is the bearer of it and who is directed to defray your Expenses hither.

As the Business on which I want to confer with you is important and will not admit of Delay, I hope to seeyou speedily.

REFERENCES

Papers of Robert Morris, Official Letterbook, MS in Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. Microfilm in Butler Library, Columbia University, New York City. Entries are chronological.

uncirculated Va halfpennies of 1773, and he used to bring them for sale at coin club and ESNA meetings, two or three at a time. This man is Arthur Gottschalk, 207 State Street, Syracuse. He was an occasional (and not very welcome) visitor to coin club meetings in the 1940's;altho he never paid dues, I was surprised to read in The Numismatist that he joined the club at its second meeting on July 12, 1932. He used to show up at ESNA meetings and dickered with attendees et al on a vest-pocket basis without paying either registration or bourse fee; quite successful, too, because he had superb material. He and that most-respected of dealers, Barney Bluestone, fought (literally on occasion) 90% of the time, and then occasionally surprised everyone by joining forces for some deal. Back in the depression years, Barney is reputed to have returned from a buying trip to Massachusetts with a large trunk full of choice colonial and early American copper coins. He had two large safes which bulged for years with choice copper material from some source, and his auctions were loaded with beautiful copper. John P. Young of Ithaca told me he attributed much of Bluestone's late-date copper cents, and I sweet-talked him into giveing his easy-finding variety charts to ANS. (Barney could ~~could~~ attribute several hundred early-date varieties to pre-Sheldon books by memory.) Anyhow, I always thought Gottschalk and Bluestone must have split the loot from this trunk full of copper coins, because Bluestone didn't have enough capital to acquire it on his own. Gottschalk was selling unc red Va Halfpennies at $12 five years ago. Gottschalk never advertises, but apparently is known by old line dealers all over as a source where one can get an item for a client in a hurry, at a price. I see he has finally joined the ANA (36235). He could tell quite a story about where the Virginia halfpennies have been, I expect, but I doubt one could ever get it out of him as he is very secretive. Wonder if any of Gottschalk's choice copper had migrated into the hands of Syracuse's newer dealer , Jonah Shapiro, and been a part of the 135 pieces of colonial coins valued at $1950 reported as stolen from him at Providence R.I. in Coin World 11-10-61.

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THEY SOMEHOW GET PEOPLE OF THE CALIBER OF SIR JOHN CRAIG AND C. WILSON PECK TO WRITE THEIR MINT HISTORIES; in this country we get Dickeson and Mitchell and Stewart (who had his good points) and now Thompson! Of course John Willem is going to take a cut at it too, and it might be a wonderful job.

Anyway, our correspondence ended with my reply of 4-16-62: ". . All the Dudley items in Evans Mint History books were copied verbatim (including errors!) from Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p 30-32, Jan 1867. You will find some accounts of the specie caravan, Boston to Philadelphia, fall of 1781 (Dudley accompanied Tench Francis at the behest of R. Morris) in the Correspondence of Gen'l Wm. Heath, Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1904-5, Mass. Hist. Soc. Re Dudley, see also letter in Papers of the Continental Congress, (Nat'l Archives, No. 78, Iv, 225-6) from John Bradford in Boston to Samuel Huntington in Philadelphia. . ."

The same EVANS material (including copying errors) is also to be found as item HM 18782 in the handwriting of Benson J. Lossing entitled "The United States Mint from Robert Morris's Diary;" this is in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino 15, California. While the errors and omissions are not earth-shattering, they are worth fixing up if & when you & I get to collaborating on these events. A sample error is in the entry for Nov 12, 1781: "Sent for Mr. Dudley to consult him respecting the quantity of Alloy Silver will bear without being discoloured, he says he can put 6 drops into an ounce." Should be ". . .6 dwt into an ounce." I spent a Saturday years ago with the microfilm of Robert Morris's Diary & Letterbooks in Butler Library at Columbia University. The originals are again available in the Library of Congress; they were out being rebound for quite a spell.

While we are writing the History of the US Mint, have I as yet given you my soap-box speech on why the ANS should make Julian Boyd (Papers of Thomas Jefferson) of Princeton ~~and Honorary~~ a Life Fellow (no dues) for his work on coinage history appearing in Vol. VII 150-203 & elsewhere. Then get him to rework this material and publish it in NNM; also the wealth of material re Droz in the latest volume (19?); also he has come up with a key paper in the Mitchell-Boulton correspondence missing from the 1931 book by that name edited by C. B. Mitchell. He has already published a dozen letters or so re Droz that I had previously laboriously copied from mss in The National Archives. Since apparently I'll not soon get around to publish on Droz, I would like to feed what I know to Boyd (we have corresponded off & on for ten years) and get him to write a NNM on Droz; another on Mitchell; and another on Jefferson-Morris-Morris. I have absolutely no idea how Boyd would take to all this, but he presumably is a colleague of Louis C. West and Erik Sjoqvist. In this manner, we might get some American Numismatics written up in a scholarly fashion as it should be. What say?

Very truly yours,

Ray Williamson

Raymond H. Williamson

C. Wyllie Betts Fabrications in

A.N.S. collection

~~Gift of~~ F.C.C. Boyd

Obv	Novum Belgium	~~[illegible]~~ die	Coin in copper
Rev	Petra Manuit	die	

See Coin Collectors Journal V. II (1877) p 177
Woodward sale 1863 # 2097

Obv	Colony of	(seated figure	Coin in Type metal ~~[illegible]~~ + die
Rev	New York	(head)	die

Washington Born Feb 22, 1732 die + copper surface

New England Shilling rev XII

Massachusets in obv die in copper
New England Ano Dom rev die copper

New England An Do rev die in copper
Mass Plym Com ?? obv die in copper

Maryland shilling obv + rev dies in copper

Non Vi Virtute Vici obv + rev die in copper

Libertas Natus obv die in copper
Neo Eboracum rev die in copper

Auctori Plebis die in copper
~~[illegible]~~ Fidei et Libertas die in copper

Nova Ebora obv die in copper
Immune Columbia rev die in copper

(Over)

Some others are pressings but they are hard time tokens & medals
He pressed hot copper over a genuine coin and got his die in that way.
~~On~~
None of the colonials are pressings from genuine coins

The "dies" made by Ryder are common copper coins (U.S. Cents, French 10 centimes, Austrian etc) which are cut with a tool after one side of the coin is shaved.

Kaplan Clinton forgery looks
like a Belto

150 grains
oversized